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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 2, Mar-Apr 1985

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30 August 1985

# USSR REPORT

## POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

### PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 2, MAR-APR 1985

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

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## ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 217-221

[Article summaries in English]

[Text] TRUTH AND FICTION ABOUT CONCLUDING STAGE OF WORLD WAR II

V.G. Sapozhnikov

There are many bourgeois Western historians who try to play down and in certain instances negate the Soviet contribution to the defeat of militarist Japan. They ignore the liberation mission of the Soviet Army, which defeated the Japanese Kwantoon Army in Manchuria and North Korea and negate the role played by the USSR in setting free the Chinese, Korean, Mongolian, Vietnamese, and other peoples of the South and Southeast Asia. A certain group of chauvinistically-minded Chinese historians of today follow suit. The Japanese bourgeois historians try to prove that the only factor which brought about the capitulation of Japan in 1945 was the American atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The article demonstrates that falsification of historical facts underlies these statements. It was the Armed Forces of the USSR that dealt a defeating blow to fascist Germany and laid down a precondition for the capitulation of imperialist Japan. It cites numerous facts, including the planned American operations in the Far East at the end of World War II, and statements of American politicians and generals which confirm the author's contention.

The article also highlights the fact that the victories of the Soviet Army had a profound imprint on the upsurge of the national-liberation movement in South and Southeast Asia.

## SOVIET UNION AND BANKRUPTCY OF HITLER'S POLICY TOWARD AFGHANISTAN

A.P. Dem'yanenko

The article deals with the little-known facts regarding the policy of fascist Germany toward Afghanistan in the late 1930's and early 1940's. It was in these years that the Nazis were hatching plans to stage a coup d'etat in Afghanistan with the active cooperation of Germany. The leaders of the Third

Reich associated establishing a pro-Nazi regime in Kabul with transforming Afghanistan into a launch site of their struggle against the USSR, on the one hand, and England in Southwest Asia, on the other. The territory of Afghanistan was to become a point of departure for their invasion into India through Tibet and the Himalayas.

The establishment of a pro-Nazi regime in Afghanistan was an integral part of the fascist plan to launch aggression against the USSR. In December 1940 the military and political leadership of Germany endorsed a plan to invade the USSR. In February 1941 the Oberkommando des Heeres (High Command of Ground Forces) started to work out the plan of the Afghanistan operation as a supplement to the "Barbarossa Plan" (the invasion of the USSR) and the offensive against India. During the aggression against the USSR the Wehrmacht tried to reach the Caucasus and Soviet Central Asia for the subsequent invasion into the countries of the Middle East. The defeat of the fascist army in Stalingrad and in the Caucasus foiled the Nazi expansionist plans. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the fascist aggression laid the cornerstone of the victory over Nazi Germany, thereby safeguarding Afghanistan's national sovereignty during World War II.

#### AFRICA AND WORLD WAR II

N.I. Gavrilov, I.G. Rybalkina

The article notes that fascist Germany's aggressive plans embraced the African continent. Apart from planning to regain the former German colonies in Africa, Hitler was eager to capture some Arab states of North Africa, as well as Senegal, the Congo, Gambia, Guinea, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Kenya, and Zanzibar. But these plans never came true thanks to the radical change in the course of World War II which occurred as a result of the Soviet victory in Stalingrad.

The antifascist nature of World War II and Soviet participation in the war facilitated the awakening and political development of Africans. The fact that many of those who were drafted in the Army were stationed outside Africa was helpful in undoing the myth of the "unbreakable nature" of the colonial powers. The intercourse with servicemen of other allied armies and the Resistance fighters brought them closer to other peoples and gave rise to sentiments of international solidarity.

The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War had a profound impact upon the upsurge of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed peoples of Africa. It was this movement that in the postwar years brought political independence to most of the African peoples.

#### STRUGGLE FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

A.Ya. Elyanov

The essence, problems, and prospects of the struggle for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) are better understood in the context of the general policy of the developing world to overcome the legacy of backwardness.



The article deals with the struggle of former colonies and semi-colonies to reform the system of unequal economic relations on the basis of justice and democracy. It examines the NIEO program and reveals its controversial nature. The latter is due to the inconsistency and vagueness of measures designed to secure its implementation. It is noted that the resources which have been chosen to implement this program are inadequate.

The article draws up the balance sheet of the developing nations' struggle over the past 10 years to improve the terms of trade regarding raw materials, increase the percentage of exported manufactured goods, enhance their technological potential, and restructure international monetary and credit relations to their advantage.

It points out that these and other problems are being tackled in a very slow way for objective and subjective reasons. The subjective reasons include the West's reluctance to give up its privileges in such areas as production and international trade. The controversy which exists within the developing world in its own way impedes the resolution of the above-mentioned problems.

Drawing the conclusion, the article emphasizes that only when there are concerted efforts on the part of all states concerned will the struggle to restructure the unequal system of international economic relations yield prompt results. It is essential to attune this struggle to the struggle for peace, detente, and profound social and economic transformation of the developing world. An integral part of the policy to overcome backwardness, economic decolonization depends upon the developing world's capability to secure the most favorable international conditions for the consolidation of its economic, scientific, and technological potential.

The growing cohesion of the developing nations is a condition sine qua non of the successful solution of their problems.

#### PERSIAN GULF IN POLICIES OF IMPERIALIST POWERS

V.V. Mashin, A.I. Yakovlev

The article explores the policies of developed capitalist countries toward the Persian Gulf in the late 1970's and early 1980's with special reference to U.S. policy. In the last few years the American administration was not only applying efforts to preserve control over the oil supplies from the Gulf but encouraged the activity of American transnational corporations in the region and promoted "special relations" with local monarchies. The article highlights the enhancement of American military and political control and the escalation of the direct military presence in the region. This policy antagonizes the peoples of the Persian Gulf and is fraught with threat to international security.

## STRUCTURE AND SPECIFIC FEATURES OF INDIAN WORKING CLASS

Raza Ali

The article deals with certain broad features in the formation and consolidation of the working class during the three decades after the proclamation of India's independence and the transformations of its structure. These transformations and the problems arising from them are interlinked with the strategy of socioeconomic development adopted by the country.

In the broader context of the changes in the Indian social structure, it is pointed out that capitalist development is bringing into existence an industrial work force whose proportion, though rising among wage earners, remains quite small in the country's social structure. The article demonstrates that the structure of the Indian work force is relatively diverse and its contingents are being formed in different branches of industry and in different structures of the economy. They are at different levels of formation and different levels of maturity, conditioned by the strategy of socioeconomic development the country is following and the corresponding transformations that are taking place in its multistructural basis.

It is also pointed out that in the post-independence period, when achieving economic independence objectively became the overall national task, this task made the state sector its most important instrument. This brought into existence a new contingent of the working class, particularly of the industrial proletariat, whose evolution reflects the growth of progressive production forces. However, investigating the movement in the intrasectorial contingent of manufacturing workers with respect to total industrial employment brings out the fact that the manufacturing industries remain the stronghold of private enterprise, and that the concentration of industrial workers in the employment of private enterprise continues to be very high in the manufacturing industries.

The article analyzes certain trends in the factory sector which reveal the nature of factory labor. Of particular interest are the extent of the change in the composition of the work force of an industry as measured by labor turnover in the respective industry; the high degree of labor instability adversely affecting the process of consolidation of the industrial proletariat; regional differences with respect to the concentration of factories and the strength of the factory work force; and the sphere of small-scale industries in the traditional and modern sectors as a sphere of interaction among the middle and lower social strata and the contradictions arising from this.

These factors not only add greater dimension to the problems of the consolidation of the working class, but enhance their significance, not merely from the standpoint of development of production forces but also from the broader standpoint of sociopolitical implications.

The article maintains that in India there is, on the one hand, a rise in the heterogeneity of the working class with respect to social composition, caste factors, regional factors, professional qualifications, material standards,



cultural levels, political consciousness, and so forth. On the other hand, one finds the process of socioeconomic integration of the working class as a distinct class structure -- its expansion and consolidation, its formation into a "class in itself" and into a "class for itself."

#### SECULARIZATION OF ARAB WORLD

A.A. Ignatenko

The religious revival in the Arab world of today is accompanied by secularization. This secularization is subject to the extent of industrialization, urbanization, dissemination of education, and the like, in a particular country.

The development of the modern sector put on the agenda the elaboration of modern legislation, dissemination of scientific knowledge, emancipation of women, curbing of demographic growth, and neutralization of the adverse effect of religious holidays on the national economy. The steps taken by the state in these directions lead to secularization. The state is also impelled to separate religion from politics because of the proliferation of nongovernmental religious and political organizations which reject state control over their activities. Socially, these organizations are petty bourgeois. They are closely related to the traditional sector and oppose virtually all initiatives aimed at modernization. These organizations are used by Israel, the United States, and reactionary regimes as a tool of terrorism to fan communal discord and fight progressive regimes. The state bans the formation of political parties on a religious basis. In certain instances, belonging to illegal and extremist organizations is punishable by death.

However, the process of secularization encounters certain obstacles. In countries following the path of capitalist development, the government is unable to do away with the traditional sector by transforming the social structure. Apart from this, all countries, irrespective of their social and political orientation, try to take advantage of religion and use it as a lever to apply pressure on the masses.

#### ON METHODS OF APPLIED STUDIES OF POLITICAL PROCESS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (With Special Reference to American Political Science)

Sh.Z. Sultanov, A.V. Zagorskiy

Political science today is trying to design a complex of verifiable applied methods to investigate the political developments within developing countries.

The article singles out three trends in American modernist political science which tackle these problems: 1) Construction of determinate mathematical models on the basis of general abstract notions regarding certain political processes; 2) Elaboration of political science patterns with the aid of conceptions and notions of systems analysis; 3) Construction of applied methods within the framework of comparative political science and utilization

of mathematical statistics. The article gives gives prominence to the latter trend.

It formulates two major unresolved problems. The first one refers to the fact that American modernist political science lacks a holistic concept of the nature of political developments and the sources of political instability in the developing world. The second problem bears relation to the built-in limitations of the applied methods which are used to process statistical data. The point is that it is impossible to give an adequate assessment of the political processes and phenomena under study by means of quantitative statistical indices. It is also a fact that fundamentally the elaboration of these methods suffers from a lack of data. Attempts to overcome the limitations of mathematical statistical methods by quantifying qualitative phenomena through scaling raise justified doubts, above all insofar as the incorrectness of the processing of the scaling results is concerned.

In the end the article discusses some conceptual problems dealing with prospective ways to improve applied methods of political analysis and the criteria of using mathematical statistics.

#### I.YU. KRACHKOVSKIY AS STUDENT OF ARAB LITERATURE

A.A. Dolinina

The author, a pupil of I.Yu. Krachkovskiy, examines one of the major trends in the studies of the eminent Soviet Arab scholar -- Arab literature from the pre-Islamic period to the 1920's.

The article points out that I.Yu. Krachkovskiy regarded himself, first and foremost, as a student of Arab literature. As a scholar he came of age in the "era of philology." It was the time when the Arab scholars of the world were engaged in publishing the classical heritage of Arab literature. The approach to the Arab literature of the 20th century from the viewpoint of the history of literature was just emerging at this time and was warmly acclaimed by young I.Yu. Krachkovskiy.

The article goes into the I.Yu. Krachkovskiy's main research dealing with the history of literature. It highlights his article written in 1922 entitled "The Emergence and Development of New Arab Literature."

It is suggested that a systematic analysis of I.Yu. Krachkovskiy's works will provide a deeper insight into the theoretical understanding of the literary processes of medieval and modern Arab literature.

#### HISTORICAL CHRONICLE 'NIHONGI' ON FAMILIARIZATION OF JAPANESE WITH BUDDHISM

A.N. Ignatovich

The publication offers a Russian translation of six extracts from the "Nihongi," an ancient Japanese chronicle of the early 8th century. The extracts deal with the familiarization of the Japanese with Buddhism and the very first steps of this religion in Japan. According to the "Nihongi"

chronology, the extracts cover the period from 552 to 587 A.D. The note of 552 refers to the "transmission of the Law of Buddha" to Yamato rulers by envoys of the Korean state of Pekche. This story represents the traditional version of the initiation of Japanese Buddhism, or the so-called "koden." The note includes the famous message of Syong-myong (Seimei, in Japanese), the King of Pekche, to the Japanese Emperor, eulogizing Buddhism and stressing the need to convert the Japanese to the new faith.

Other notes deal with such topics as the struggle of the Buddhist adherents of the clan of Soga with conservative groups of that time headed by the clan of Mononobe for official acceptance of the new religion, the Japanese perception of Buddhism at the initial stage, and the activity of its first adepts.

The translation is supplemented by a commentary and preceded by an introduction. The latter gives an insight into the "Nihongi" as a historical source and examines the role of the note of 552, which deals with the coming of Buddhism to Japan, regarding the formulation of the concept of the historical process. It has been found in many respects that this note does not reflect real events. Syong-myong's message was written in the beginning of the 8th century, at the time when the "Nihongi" was allegedly composed by a Buddhist monk Doji. Eventually, it was proven that the date of the Pekche embassy in Japan was also incorrect. Nevertheless, there are reasons to believe that the composers of the "Nihongi" deliberately made up the story regarding the "transmission of the Law of Buddha" and ascribed it to the year 552. According to Buddhist calculations of that time, the year 550 (or 551) marks the beginning of the so-called "period of the end of the Law" when the world falls into decay. Mahayana Buddhism, especially the kind formed in China in the period from the 6th to the 8th centuries, seemed to be a doctrine destined to save the world. Therefore, the transmission of Buddhism to Japan in the first year of the "period of the end of the Law" was regarded as the transmission of a saving remedy. As a matter of fact, the subsequent history of Japanese Buddhism is shown as a string of victories. According to the "Nihongi," the dissemination of Buddhism was a guarantee of the prosperity of the Japanese state.

#### 25 YEARS OF SERIES 'MONUMENTS OF ORIENTAL LETTERS'

A.N. Kononov, O.K. Dreyer, Ye.N. Tyomkin, S.S. Tselniker

The Series "Monuments of Oriental Literature" was begun in Moscow in 1959, on the eve of the 25th International Congress of Orientalists.

In 1964 the Series was renamed and has been known since then as "Monuments of Oriental Letters." Over the past 25 years, 139 volumes (113 serial issues) covering all Oriental countries have been brought out in this Series. Most of these texts were published for the first time. They comprise facsimiles of unique manuscripts, xylographs, and printed texts. As a rule, the Series publishes manuscripts which are kept in libraries in Leningrad, Tashkent, Dushanbe, and Moscow. Some unique manuscripts from the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris and the British Museum of London were also published in this Series. Most of the published texts carry a Russian translation and are accompanied by a commentary and indices. As compared to well-known series such as

"Bibliotheca Buddhica" and the E.J.W. Bibb Memorial Series, the "Monuments of Oriental Letters" are not restricted linguistically, culturally, geographically, or chronologically. Works in 26 languages, including Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Turkish, Tangut, and others were published in this Series. It also includes such rare languages as the Turkic of the Golden Horde, Manchurian, Kuman, and the Saka language of Khotan. Chronologically, the publications range from the 25th century B.C. to the 20th century. In terms of topic and genre the Series is rather diverse. The 136 separate writings and collections deal with historiography, social and economic problems, geography, travel, philosophy, theology, the history of religion and sects, belles lettres, folklore, linguistics, and so forth. Various aspects of the publications of the Series are reflections of the problems which are of interest to Soviet Oriental scholars. They also indicate what manuscripts and xylographs are kept in Soviet collections. The latter include many unique manuscripts of great cultural and historical importance. Many of these manuscripts became the subject of attention of eminent Oriental scholars of prerevolutionary Russia. After the October Revolution of 1917, their study was carried on by their successors and pupils. This Series has brought out many unique manuscripts, Tangut xylographs from the P.K. Kozlov Collection, manuscripts of the Tunhuang Collection of the Leningrad Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, and manuscript fragments from Central Asia (Buddhist monuments in Sanskrit, Saka, Tokharian, and Uighur languages).

The publications of this Series are well known; they were reviewed in Oriental studies periodicals and journals. In collaboration with the Central Department of Oriental Literature of "Nauka" publishers, the Editorial Board of the Series is going to bring out manuscripts of numerous countries from ancient Mesopotamia to Japan. These manuscripts are an expression of the diversity and greatness of the ancient and medieval cultural heritage of the East.

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### THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 37-48

[Article by Anatoliy Yakovlevich El'yanov, doctor of economic sciences and scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, under the rubric "Articles and Reports": "The Struggle for a New Economic Order"]

[Text] The struggle of former colonial and dependent countries to surmount the backwardness inherited from the past and achieve economic independence has put on the agenda the question of decolonizing the entire system of their world economic ties and fundamentally restructuring it on just, democratic principles. The need for this restructuring does not diminish as contemporary production forces take shape in liberated countries but, on the contrary, increases since this process is intimately related to the young states' acquisition of world scientific-technical achievements, which require many-sided economic contacts with more developed countries. This also determines the consistent urgency of this problem.

Developing countries use various measures of foreign trade and currency-financial regulation and resort to regulating investments and the practical activity of foreign monopolies to the point of nationalizing assets belonging to them in order to break or at least weaken fetters put on their economy by the heavy legacy of colonialism in the sphere of world economic relations. Notwithstanding all the differences resulting from the socioeconomic specifics and political orientation of individual countries, the set of these measures tends to expand and their effectiveness is increasing.

Developing countries have perhaps had the most significant successes in restoring sovereignty over their own natural resources and organizing control over the production operations of transnational corporations dealing in raw materials. In the 1970's the property of almost 980 branches of raw material monopolies which represented the interests of imperialist states was nationalized and more than 70 inequitable contracts with them were converted to new contract conditions which better satisfied the interests of the developing countries.<sup>1</sup> This not only enabled liberated countries to increase incomes from extracting their own natural wealth but also created the prerequisites for conducting a more independent investment and trade policy,

thereby also improving prospects for local processing of the raw materials obtained.

No matter how important such actions may be, still they cannot radically change the developing countries' inequitable position in the world capitalist economy or deliver them from imperialist exploitation. And the point is not even that achieving these goals is inconceivable without strengthening and improving local economic structures in general and the export sector in particular. In order to eliminate all the survivals of colonialism and the various forms of neocolonialism which have come to take its place, the combined forces of imperialism and reaction, which jealously defend their privileges, must be opposed. The developing countries are obviously not in a position to accomplish this alone. The new, qualitatively higher stage of the movement to achieve equitable and just economic relations with former mother countries, also called the struggle for a new international economic order (NIEO), is linked to these countries' recognizing their common interests in the struggle against imperialism.

An important condition of the consolidation of forces of the developing world in this struggle was the expansion of mutually beneficial, equitable cooperation with the socialist states, which undermined imperialism's monopoly in offering liberated countries financial resources and new technology along with buying their export output. The active and comprehensive political support of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community in the United Nations and at other international forums for the just aspirations of former colonies and semicolonies is also fundamentally important. In many respects because of the principled line consistently followed by the socialist states in the entire postwar period, the developing countries have been able to come out in the United Nations with a broad political program for normalizing the general climate of international economic relations to establish new principles and norms of international intercourse. Moreover, the very opportunity to promote this program arose as a result of detente in the early 1970's.

The developing countries' aspiration to unity in order to protect and secure their foreign economic interests was ultimately put in organizational form by the establishment of the "group of 77," to which practically all liberated states today belong. Having essentially constituted itself at the 18th session of the UN General Assembly in 1963, this group took a most active part in the work of the 1st UN Conference on Trade and Development held in Geneva in 1964, which concluded with the establishment of a new UN organ -- UNCTAD -- and the adoption, despite the opposition of the West, of general and special principles of international trade relations and trade policy. Since that time all basic documents on the question of restructuring international economic relations which form the conceptual basis of the struggle for decolonization of this sphere of social life have been worked out within the framework of the "group of 77." The adoption of general and special principles of international trade relations was of no small significance in both normalizing the very system of world economic ties and in identifying the positions on this question of countries with different socioeconomic systems. While the states of the socialist community supported all the basic demands of the developing countries on the need to put an end to dominance and discrimination

in international economic relations and give them assistance in overcoming backwardness, the main capitalist states spoke out against them. In this way, a sharp demarcation of positions on one of the major problems of contemporary times between the West, on the one hand, and developing and socialist countries, on the other, occurred for the first time at one of the largest forums, in which representatives of 119 countries took part.

After the Geneva Conference the developing countries continued to act as a unified front on all major questions of reorganizing world economic ties. The active support of the program demands of the "group of 77" helped preserve and consolidate their unity on these questions. The nonalignment movement, which differed slightly from the group in composition, represents a very influential political organization of the developing countries. As for disagreements resulting from the nonconformity of particular economic interests of individual countries and the growing socioeconomic and political differentiation of the developing world, they are usually regulated within the framework of the "group of 77" through complex diplomatic negotiations.<sup>2</sup> While supporting general unity, these necessary compromises are frequently achieved, nonetheless, at the price of silence or the adoption of insufficiently clear formulations on certain questions of principle, which cannot fail to harm their practical solution.

Be that as it may, after surviving numerous "tests of strength," the "group of 77" on the whole continues to function successfully. The results of the 6th Special Session of the UN General Assembly on questions of raw materials and development (April-May 1974) served as convincing proof of this; a far-reaching program for restructuring international economic relations set forth in two basic documents -- The "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and the "Program of Actions to Establish a New International Economic Order" -- was approved at this session. The developing countries' entire struggle to realize this program also attests to the same thing. In subsequent years the session's decisions were supplemented by a number of other international documents such as the "Charter of Rights and Obligations of States," the resolution of the 7th Special Session of the UN General Assembly, the "Lima Declaration and Plan of Action," the "Manila Declaration and Program of Action," the "Arusha Program of Collective Self-Reliance," the documents of the 4th, 5th, and 6th sessions of UNCTAD, the 3rd and 5th general conferences of UNIDO, the economic declarations of the 5th, 6th, and 7th conferences of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries, the report of the summit conference in Caracas on economic cooperation of developing countries, the Ministry Declaration and the "Buenos Aires Platform" developed and adopted at the conference of ministers of the "group of 77" countries in February 1983, and others which developed and modified certain of the NIEO positions advanced earlier.

The main feature of the present stage of the developing countries' struggle on questions of international trade and development is that from separate actions of a local nature they have shifted to joint actions on a global scale and from a struggle for partial concessions they have moved to a demand to reorganize the system of their world economic ties as a whole. Despite a certain inconsistency as well as a certain vagueness and contradictoriness in a number of points of the NIEO program, it in fact questions not only the



structure approved earlier but the very mechanism of economic relations of the capitalist center with the former colonial and semicolonial periphery. The subject is basically bringing these relations into accord with the new political and economic realities of contemporary times which have caused the countries which make up this periphery to shift to an independent national development basis and led to the accelerated formation in them of industrial production forces which confront numerous obstacles because of the inequitable position of liberated states in the world capitalist economy.

The NIEO program contains a number of positions, important in the conceptual sense, which are directed against oppression and exploitation and which the progressive forces of the entire world have already been supporting for a long time. They are above all the principles of self-determination of peoples and the sovereign equality of states, the unacceptability of forcible seizure of foreign territory, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, full sovereignty of states over their own natural resources and all types of economic activity, equitable participation by all countries in solving global economic problems, the right of peoples to choose a socioeconomic system, and others. In its totality the NIEO program is focused on structural reorganization of the international division of labor and world trade currents, reorganization of the mechanism which regulates world economic relations taking into account the interests of developing countries, and reinforcement of their technological potential. The main efforts of liberated countries are subordinated to performing this three-sided task.

On the whole the NIEO program attests to its progressive orientation. Nonetheless, on the level of certain practical demands and measures proposed to realize them, which are to change the systems which took shape in the epoch of colonialism, this program at times does not seem so convincing. And not only because of the contradictory, unrealistic, or unsound character of certain claims advanced by developing countries but because of the lack of indications of the need to correlate them closely with carrying out internal social transformations whose time has come.

The reorganization of the international division of labor as well as of the structure and directions of international trade exchange is conceived primarily on the paths of adapting the West's economy to the exports of developing countries accomplished on the basis of both traditional production sectors and ones that are new to these countries. It is essentially a matter of stopping artificial support and gradually eliminating a number of sectors in the West which have lost or are losing competitiveness and "moving" them to developing countries. Inasmuch as this does not contradict the long-term interests of developed capitalist countries and is in principle in the direction of the structural reorganization of the economy begun there, the West should not reject this idea; but at the present time it is in fact blocking its realization, making references to free enterprise and the social problems that can arise.

The proposed reorganization of the international division of labor is supported by a set of demands directly related to reorganizing international trade. In general these demands amount to eliminating discrimination and other artificial restrictions on importing the output of developing countries,

granting them unilateral trade privileges, stabilizing prices for raw materials, and increasing their total incomes from exports. Due to objective and subjective reasons not one of them has in fact been realized yet.

In order to improve conditions of trade in raw materials, which still account for about four-fifths of the total exports of developing countries and frequently are the only source of foreign exchange income, the "Integrated Program on Raw Materials" (IPS) was specially developed. Its goal is to stabilize prices, guarantee developing countries a "fair share" of markets, expand local processing of raw materials extracted, and thus increase income from their export. The main idea of IPS is to insure that concurrent negotiations on a broad circle of raw material commodities induce importing countries which show increased interest in some of these commodities to come to agreement on others as well. It is proposed to resolve problems of marketing 18 types of raw materials at once and comprehensively; this would be two-thirds of all raw material exports of the developing world (excluding petroleum). Among other things, IPS is based on the need to conclude interrelated stabilized trade agreements which envision creating international reserves of raw materials and organizing international control over their deliveries to the world market through establishing export quotas and agreements on production volumes. Comprehensive trade obligations on long-term deliveries and purchases must be accepted, special measures regarding those types of raw materials for which reserves cannot be formed must be developed, and a system of compensation financing must be set up. At the same time, the processing of raw materials in the producing countries is to be expanded and their share in transporting and marketing raw material commodities is to be increased and, in addition, research on the comparative competitiveness of natural and synthetic types of raw materials is to be carried out. The financing of stabilizing measures within the IPS framework is supposed to be entrusted to a specially organized "General Fund" for this purpose, which developing countries consider the "key instrument of achieving the goals agreed upon."<sup>3</sup>

The integrated program is a step forward as compared to separate trade agreements which, as experience shows, have a very weak and at times destructive influence on market conditions. In addition, the effect from some stabilization of prices for certain types of raw materials is frequently nullified by drastic fluctuations in other types of raw materials.

Since it is directed at limiting the predominance of international monopolies and destructive competition, the realization of IPS could obviously somewhat increase the stability of developing countries' revenue from raw material exports. But even it is not capable of overcoming the negative consequences of market spontaneity. Moreover, the performance of IPS is encountering opposition from capitalist states who see a certain threat to the infamous free enterprise. Differences of opinion among the developing countries themselves have also not been finally settled. More than 3 years were needed to achieve an agreement on establishing the "General Fund" (June 1980). Putting it into effect took even longer. In order to do this, a minimum of 90 countries had to ratify the agreement and by mid-1984 less than 70 countries had done so. In addition, the fund was set up in an amount of 750 million dollars instead of the 6 billion dollars which the draft

envisioned. The situation is complicated by the inability to solve the question of compensation financing which is needed to stabilize the developing countries' revenue from raw material exports. The West insists on using the compensation mechanism of the International Monetary Fund; but the developing countries, considering that the decisive word in this organization belongs to the United States and other developed capitalist states, are trying to set up a special compensation system which could be integrated into the "General Fund" by opening a special account in it.

The developing countries also consider the creation of various associations of raw material producers as an important lever in solving the raw material problem. The activities of OPEC, which has helped restore the sovereignty of its member states over their own natural wealth and won rather strong positions in the world energy raw materials market, a uniquely significant one for the world economy, have become an important stimulus to organizing these associations. Nonetheless, it is extremely difficult to repeat the success of OPEC and, indeed, scarcely possible at all. Relatively limited sales volumes, the competition of artificial substitutes, the existence of alternative types of natural raw materials, and the fact that many types of raw materials are not produced only in developing countries prevent doing so. The large number of producers and their lack of communication along with a limited number of large, usually vertically integrated consumer companies should also be taken into account.

No fewer difficulties stand in the path of upgrading the exports of developing countries by increasing the share of industrial items, since they are presently "outsiders" in industry. The inability of local output to compete prevents it from invading the commercial sphere, which has long since been divided up among developed capitalist states, and in addition this output encounters a number of barriers there. Among these measures are a discriminatory system of customs charges on industrial items with rising rates as the degree of processing increases. Many years of negotiations within the framework of GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] on reducing tariffs above all promoted an expansion of the mutual trade of the developed capitalist states. And a certain decline in tariff rates for the industrial items of developing countries was accompanied by an increase in all kinds of nontariff restrictions on their imports to developed capitalist states.

In connection with the developing countries' increased control over the exploitation of their own natural resources, the West is trying to grant certain concessions on liberalizing imports of industrial items only in exchange for guaranteed access to these resources. The Lome Convention can serve as an example; a group of developing countries who were participants in the convention were granted a preferential customs regime because the states of the European Economic Community received guaranteed access to their sources of raw materials. However, the system of preferences adopted by the developed capitalist states does a rather poor job of increasing the export of industrial items by developing countries. The point is that it by no means encompasses all countries or all industrial commodities exported by them but on the contrary includes commodities which are not produced in developing countries or commodities these countries cannot compete in. In this connection the English *ECONOMIST* wrote, not without sarcasm, that "the West,



for example, can fully permit itself to open markets for importing computers from Bangladesh."<sup>4</sup>

Problems of adapting the main centers of capitalism to structural changes in the economies of the developing countries, curtailing sectors in which these countries have achieved so-called comparative advantages, and eliminating customs barriers which prevent the export of the corresponding output are being solved extremely slowly. The new wave of protectionism which has engulfed the developed capitalist countries in connection with the economic recession of the late 1970's-early 1980's creates serious obstacles. Industrial exports of developing countries are also restrained by the so-called restrictive business practices (ODP) of transnational corporations which put up obstacles against these countries entering the world market.

The strengthening and refinement of the developing countries' technological base is a very important condition of their economic growth. Therefore, the demand to eliminate ODP in the sphere of the transfer and use of technology, which does substantial harm to developing countries and prevents their access to contemporary scientific-technical achievements, is an inseparable component of the NIEO program. In this case we are actually speaking of two interrelated questions: on the one hand, the development of an international "Code of Behavior in Technology Transfer," which bans ODP; and, on the other, the reform of the international patent system" in order to prevent the practice of abuses in the field of industrial property."<sup>5</sup>

The developing countries are especially persistent in demanding the adoption of an international code which would regulate the process of transferring technology in order to fully eliminate obstacles to its use in the interests of the recipient-countries. The main dividing line between the positions of the developing and developed capitalist states is on the question of the legal status of such a code. The developing countries favor giving it the character of an international treaty with all the obligations that arise from that. But the West considers it a certain collection of general rules which are merely to be considered when transferring technology.

While insisting on eliminating monopolistic restrictions in the matter of transferring and using technology, the developing countries at the same time try to obtain assistance in setting up and consolidating their own scientific-technical base. This base is needed not only to adapt imported technology to local conditions but also to develop new technological solutions and processes which cannot be borrowed from foreign experience. It would seem that its development does not contradict the West's interests. However, protectionist barriers in the path of developing countries' output to Western markets prevent solving this problem. With the narrowness of their own markets this retards growth and also, frequently, the organization of the appropriate types of production. The West's aspirations to export private capital to these countries also retards the incorporation of new technology by the developing countries; this private capital resorts to ODP methods to preserve its own privileges in production and international trade.

Demands to reorganize international currency and credit relations occupy a prominent place in the NIEO program. The fact that an unsatisfactory

currency-financial position makes the process of their development extremely difficult accounts for the great attention the developing countries devote to this problem. The reorganization of currency and credit relations which the developing countries insist on includes reforming the international monetary system and facilitating access to sources of financing and assistance as well as working out measures to solve the problem of debt, which has become very acute in the 1980's.

The failure of the Breton-Wood system in the early 1970's, which was accompanied by the swift rise of anarchy in currency markets and increased imbalance in international payments, gave special urgency to currency-financial problems; all this hit the developing countries hard -- most of them take losses since they are unable to adapt themselves to the continually changing situation. The developing countries see the solution to the situation in receiving guarantees regarding currency support of their foreign trade and development programs. In this connection, they are striving for broader participation in the process of adopting decisions on currency questions and insisting on a reform which is capable of creating conditions for the "fair distribution of international liquid capital."<sup>6</sup> According to the opinion of the "group of 77," the imbalance of the payment balances of the developing countries is not so much market-determined as it is structural in nature. Therefore, the group favors flexible and privileged credit conditions to cover current deficits in payment balances and the establishment of a definite tie between supplying these countries with the liquid capital they need and financing development.

In the sphere of direct aid, the developing countries' demand amounts to, as is well known, bringing aid up to a minimum of 1 percent of the gross national product of the developed countries, including state aid up to 0.7 percent, as well as an increase in the proportion of aid granted on a multilateral basis (which is considered a means to "depoliticize" it). At the same time they insist that the aid be granted regularly and independent of changes in the economic and political situation in the recipient-countries, that its general conditions be eased, and that a large share of it be allocated for programs of development on the whole rather than for individual projects so that the recipient-countries themselves can determine priorities in using the capital they receive. The need for more privileged conditions of aid to the least developed countries is specially stipulated.

A great deal of significance in the currency-financial part of the NIEO program is attached to the problem of debts; payments to pay off these debts "eat up" an increasingly larger share of the export receipts of the developing countries and make it necessary to appeal for additional credits. In this connection demands are made to consolidate foreign debts, defer current payments to pay off the debt, write off part of the debts, give special privileges to the least developed countries, and the like.

On the whole the resolution of the currency-financial problems is progressing very slowly, if one can speak of progress at all; the West has agreed to partial concessions only regarding compensation financing and debts in order to maintain the solvency of the developing countries, keep them as markets, and create the conditions for them to pay off the enormous debt, which reached

800 billion dollars in early 1984.<sup>7</sup> And what is more, these concessions by no means apply to all countries. While helping to reduce current difficulties to a certain extent, nonetheless they have no connection at all with solving the long-term problems of the developing countries.

In addition, the NIEO program raises such questions as eliminating discrimination and increasing the developing countries' share in maritime shipping, reviewing the law of the sea with consideration for their interests, and certain others. In the opinion of the developing countries, mutual support and cooperation is a most important condition for realizing these points of the program and those examined earlier. The documents of many authoritative conferences, above all the "Arusha Program of Collective Reliance on Internal Strengths" (1979) and the decisions of the Caracas Summit Conference on Economic Cooperation (1981) attest to the enormous significance attached to this question.

The conception of "collective reliance on internal strengths" [kollektivnaya opora na sobstvennyye sily] in principle includes both political and all forms of trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation of developing countries, beginning with common trade and ending with the joint development and exploitation of new technology, including on the basis of specialization and cooperation. Reflecting the objective need for more complete utilization of potential inherent in this cooperation, this conception is directed at reducing the developing countries' excessive dependence on the West and the policy it conducts in the sphere of international economic relations. In this way this conception essentially represents both the strategy of the struggle for NIEO and the inseparable component of the changes in the current system of world economic ties which it envisions. Reliance on combining and consolidating their own strengths is a natural result and, moreover, additional evidence of the developing countries' deep awareness of their common interests in the struggle against oppression and exploitation. This struggle is to insure the materialization of the ideas of unity and solidarity by embodying them in actual forms of joint activity.

While the cooperation of developing countries stimulated by striving for "collective reliance on internal forces" is focused on consolidating their positions in the world market and, in particular, on diversifying the structure of economic ties with the "rest of the world" by expanding direct interstate deals, especially with the countries of the socialist community, as well as direct contacts with consumers and producers of output they export and import, there is no doubt of the promise of such an approach to reorganizing international economic relations. Nonetheless, in its extreme interpretation, which calls for economic separatism and conversing with other states in dictatorial language, this conception can only divert the developing countries from solving urgent problems.

The idea of economic isolation from the "rest of the world" is utopian and attempts to realize it would only impede the development of these countries. And relying on anticartels as a means of solving energy and raw material problems is also hardly sound, as the Soviet economist I.D. Ivanov justifiably emphasizes.<sup>8</sup> The point is not only that stabilizing markets is simply impossible when the interests of the consumers of raw materials are ignored.



It must also be borne in mind that the developing countries by no means have a monopoly on producing and exporting raw materials. Moreover, acting as consumers they themselves or, in any case, most of them suffer from such an approach no less if not more than the industrially developed states. And although the activities of anticartels in certain periods and in certain circumstances can have some impact, in itself it is unable to solve the raw material problem in full. The reorganization of international economic relations with consideration of the interests of all countries, the time for which has now come, does not require breaking off these relations (although, of course, using this method of struggle is not excluded in certain cases) but persistently searching for ways to reorganize them on the basis of new principles and norms of international intercourse.

Moreover, the conception of "collective reliance on internal forces," even in its realistic sense which takes account of the need to expand economic ties with new partners, like the entire NIEO program, is essentially based on the presumption that only the developing countries are interested in reorganizing international economic relations. But "their own problems which demand solution and which result, by the way, from the same imperialist roots exist in relations between developed capitalist and socialist states as well," as I.D. Ivanov notes.<sup>9</sup>

The normalization of the international economic situation is essentially a global problem whose solution accordingly demands a global approach which in one form or another deals with all the basic directions of contemporary world economic ties. Even this fact itself attests to the need for closer cooperation between developing and socialist countries and all progressive forces of contemporary times in the struggle to reorganize the system of international economic relations, which has become obsolete. Without such an association the developing countries will be unable to achieve success in this matter.

After all, their present attack on the positions of international financial capital and the system of oppression and exploitation of peoples connected with it proved possible in large part because the community of socialist countries had already inflicted a serious blow on this system. The formation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which was marked by a decisive break with imperialist principles of international economic intercourse and the establishment and consolidation of a new type of relations based on principles of equality and fraternal mutual aid, cut a deep hole in this system. Economic cooperation of socialist states with developing countries is also carried out on an equitable, mutually advantageous basis, forcing imperialism to make certain concessions in relations with them. The partial retreat and surrender by imperialism of some of its positions is also related to the fact that along with the unified front of developing countries, the community of socialist states, which actively gives political support to all progressive positions and the NIEO program as a whole, opposes it since their fundamental interests in this field basically coincide.<sup>10</sup>

It is obvious that the global nature of problems related to reorganizing international economic relations demands unconditional recognition of both the economic specifics of the socialist countries and their role in this matter.

Without this recognition radical progress in international economic life cannot be achieved. However, the NIEO program itself and the activities of developing countries aimed at implementing it do not properly consider these circumstances. Despite increased understanding of the fundamental differences between imperialist and socialist states, the developing countries frequently still make essentially the same claims against them. This mainly concerns questions of aid as well as forms of trade relations and technology transfer.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have repeatedly explained their position on all these kinds of questions. Thus, while not refusing in principle to increase the scale of economic and scientific-technical aid to developing countries (in accordance with their capabilities), the socialist states do not, however, categorically accept the demand to allocate a certain fixed share of gross national product for these purposes, above all because this puts them in the same position as the developed capitalist states. However, unlike the imperialist powers, they are not at all responsible for the backwardness and present economic difficulties of the developing countries.<sup>11</sup> While supporting the principle of nonmutuality, which the developing countries insist upon, and trying to achieve unilateral trade concessions from developed countries, the socialist countries cannot, however, agree with an interpretation of this principle which does not take into account the real state of affairs in their trade with the developing countries. In offering them important trade privileges, the socialist states do not demand mutual concessions; nonetheless, they have the right to expect no less favorable conditions than that which the capitalist states enjoy. In many respects the developing countries also occupy a similar position on the question of the procedure for settling differences of opinion which arise when technology is being transferred, not taking account of the differences between the economic organizations of socialist states which carry out equitable cooperation with them and the West's private business, mainly represented by transnational corporations which infringe on their interests in every kind of way.<sup>12</sup>

But the point is not only that many developing countries interpret in an inaccurate, one-sided manner the content of the struggle which is being waged for reorganization of international economic relations, but also their clear underevaluation of the role of the countries of the socialist community in this struggle as well as their special position in the system of contemporary world economic ties. The normalization of the international economic climate must not be achieved without putting an end to the arms race which helps increase tension in relations between states and diverts enormous amounts of capital from the purposes of development.

The process of developing liberated states as a whole, the decolonization of world economic ties, and the very possibility of their continuation depend to a decisive degree on averting a thermonuclear catastrophe and on detente. Of course, it is difficult to figure on achieving reliable stability in the world in conditions where a handful of capitalist states who have gotten rich continue to make a fortune on the oppression and exploitation of the vast majority of the countries which are backward in the economic sense, with large parts of their populations suffering from hunger, ignorance, and disease and without the opportunity to satisfy fundamental needs for food, clothing, and

shelter, not to mention health care and education. But without eliminating the threat of war and a turn toward detente and strict observance of the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation in interstate relations, solving all these problems is virtually impossible. Therefore, efforts directed at reorganizing international economic relations must be correlated with the struggle for peace, stopping the arms race, and disarmament. This is the command of the times, which cannot be disregarded without threatening the NIEO program and all the hopes tied to it.

In recent years this indisputable truth has been recognized more and more, not only by progressive public opinion but by official circles in the developing countries as well. The advancement, at forums of the "group of 77" and the Nonalignment Movement, of the thesis that the problems of preserving the peace and development are interrelated, which in one form or another is in the Arusha Program, the Havana Declaration, the UN development strategy for the 1980's, the Delhi Economic Declaration, the Ministers' Declaration, and the "Buenos Aires Platform," can serve as evidence of this evolution. Thus, the last of the documents named, which gives perhaps the most precise formulation of the corresponding ideas of the developing countries, says: "Questions regarding the world economy and international economic relations and development are directly related to questions of peace and stability. Separate examination of them will harm security in the world not only in the military-strategic sense but also by virtue of serious national and international economic consequences which it can cause. The reduction of tension in the entire world, cessation of the arms race, and measures for effective disarmament which will free much-needed resources for development are vitally necessary for global economic development."<sup>13</sup>

Recognition of this is a necessary but by no means sufficient condition for preserving and consolidating peace. The painstaking and persistent struggle of all peace-loving forces is needed; the developing countries can and must occupy their deserved place in this struggle.

While not in any way belittling the significance of political actions to solve economic questions, the fact must not be overlooked that opportunities for such types of actions are rather limited. The policies of the developing countries aimed at reorganizing world economic ties and restructuring them on just democratic principles must be reinforced by corresponding economic measures. The effectiveness of such measures for each country taken separately is obviously determined above all by the condition of its own national economy. Consequently, without all-out consolidation and development of the particular national economies, the positions of developing countries in the system of international economic relations cannot be really solidified either.

The effectiveness of the reorganization of their own foreign economic ties planned by the developing countries depends to an enormous degree on their carrying out progressive internal transformations capable of insuring accelerated economic and social progress, disseminating its blessings to strata of the population not yet touched by the development process, and achieving greater social justice, as well as using the concessions wrung from imperialism for these purposes. As pressing problems of paramount importance,



socioeconomic transformations, capable of clearing the path for developing local production forces in general and labor resources in particular and of creating the most favorable conditions for their refinement and growth are also necessary, because only by this path can the positions of the developing countries in the struggle against imperialism be secured and imperialism be forced to consider their vital aspirations and expectations more. In the world capitalist economy, where all blessings are divided according to capital and by force in accordance with total economic power, it is above all important to strengthen their economic and scientific-technical potential in order to safeguard their interests and resist the onslaught of international business. At the same time its all-out development represents an invariable condition and one of the prerequisites for expanding and deepening economic cooperation among the developing countries themselves and for strengthening economic ties with states of the socialist community.

Of course, with the present scope of internationalization of economic life where the economies of different countries are interrelated by thousands of threads, the possibility of certain additional concessions from the West to the developing countries must not be excluded. Nonetheless, as the experience of the last decade shows, these concessions are usually of a partial and local nature and are offered only when there is sufficient serious economic or political interest in it. But the degree of this interest depends in many respects on the economic and scientific-technical potential of the developing countries themselves. Some of the more developed liberated countries which are also rich in natural resources obviously still have a chance of "joining" the structure of the world capitalist economy, which is being modified. But most of them, if they do not manage to seriously strengthen their economies, can at best expect only pitiful crumbs which can only maintain them somehow in their current unenviable position.

Rapid and easy successes cannot be expected in the struggle to democratize international economic relations and reorganize them on the principles of equity and justice. The experience accumulated is proof that this struggle will be long and hard. Important advances can only be achieved when the attack on the inequitable system of world economic ties set up by imperialism is conducted as a front, with the participation of all interested states and taking into account their particular interests, and when this attack is organically linked to the struggle for peace and detente as well as with deep internal socioeconomic transformations in the developing countries. Since it is an important part of the efforts directed at overcoming backwardness, the process of decolonization of world economic ties depends to an enormous if not decisive degree on the liberated countries' ability to insure maximally favorable internal conditions for developing and strengthening their own economic and scientific-technical potential. Consolidating the unity of the developing countries on an anti-imperialist basis is an indispensable condition for achieving the goals posed.

Marxists harbor no particular illusions as to the possible results of the present struggle to reorganize international economic relations. As the joint statement of the socialist countries at the 5th UNCTAD Conference notes, "The realities of a reorganized international economic order, even when they are accomplished, are unable either to abolish innate defects of capitalism or

guarantee complete immunity against their influence on the development process."<sup>14</sup> The sharp deterioration in the late 1970's and early 1980's of the international political and economic situation, which was accompanied by relapses into intensified protectionist measures in the West and discrimination for political reasons against imports from developing and socialist countries, serves as convincing proof of the accuracy of this evaluation.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries continue to wage a consistent struggle to eliminate the inequitable system of world economic ties. They begin from the idea that the new ratio of forces in the world enables imperialist practices in international economic relations to be restricted and the aggressive, neocolonialist pretensions of imperialism to be checked. As the 14 June 1984 declaration of the CEMA member-countries, "Preserving Peace and International Economic Cooperation," emphasizes, "The participants in the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Member-Countries affirm their resolution to act in the interests of insuring peace and normalizing international relations in the economic sphere."<sup>15</sup> Achieving these goals will undoubtedly open up new opportunities for a continued vigorous attack on the entire system of imperialist exploitation and domination.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: "NU. Transnational Corporations in World Development: A Re-examination," New York, 1978, pp 102-122, 148-155, 315-317.
2. For more details see: E.Ye. Obminskiy, "Gruppa 77. Mnogostoronnyaya ekonomicheskaya diplomatiya razvivayushchikhsya stran" [The Group of 77. The Multilateral Economic Diplomacy of the Developing Countries], Moscow, 1981.
3. UNCTAD. Document TD/11PC/CT/24. 19 July 1980, p 4.
4. THE ECONOMIST, 3 July 1976, p 58.
5. "Arusha Program for Collective Self-Balance and Framework for Negotiations," Manila, May 1979, p 69.
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'OIL FACTOR' SEEN MOTIVE FOR WEST'S POLICIES IN PERSIAN GULF

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 49-56

[Article by V.V. Mashin and A.I. Yakovlev: "The Persian Gulf in the Policies of the Imperialist Powers"]

[Excerpts] The Persian Gulf region has now acquired special significance for a number of reasons: it occupies a strategically important position between Asia, Europe, and Africa; it is the West's largest "oil reservoir"; it continues to be the field of the protracted, bloody Iranian-Iraqi war; and this region has become the object of persistent American pretensions to establish its own direct military control there. While this is all true, it is oil which has determined, does determine, and will determine for a long time the region's significance in world affairs. Utilization of the "oil factor" allowed coastal countries to gain a new place in the system of international relations and bring about a significant spurt in their socioeconomic development.

Even in conditions of an appreciable decline in demand for oil on the world market and a corresponding decline in oil prices, when the incomes of oil-producing countries declined sharply, the West did not pay less attention to the region, as, it seemed, could have been expected.

This report attempts to show the significance which the Persian Gulf region, above all the six oil monarchies, acquired for the West in the early 1980's, in a situation of imperialist circles' increased aggressiveness and the changed situation on the world oil market, and to identify the extent to which the oil factor is used by the West in order to obtain oil supplies and the extent it is used to hide the hegemonic plans of imperialism, above all American imperialism, in this region of the world.

The total proven world reserves of oil in the early 1980's were estimated in the range from 650 to 693.3 billion barrels. The countries of the Near East, above all of the Persian Gulf, accounted for about 60 percent of them.<sup>1</sup> In 1983 the region's countries provided more than 32 percent of the total oil extracted and 45 percent of the exports of oil to the capitalist world (as compared to 19 percent in 1950) and more than 60 percent of the production of the OPEC countries.<sup>2</sup>



While formerly it was mainly oil monopolies who predominated in the Persian Gulf zone, gathering enormous profits from extracting and processing the oil of the Persian Gulf which was relatively cheap and of high quality and keeping the entire region in the status of a raw material appendage of the industrial West, in the 1970's three main participants were clearly defined in the struggle which had developed there in the oil arena: the states of the region; the imperialist powers; and transnational energy corporations. Although a tangible blow was inflicted on the monopolies' positions in the region and their influence, which was at times decisive, was undermined, they still remain a significant force there.

Even now the scope of activity of the monopolies is very great. Former concessionaire companies have been converted into contractors and have an effect on setting up enterprises to extract and refine oil and gas. In Qatar, for example, British Petroleum and the French Petroleum Company are jointly participating with the state company in working gas deposits (the cost of the project is 6 billion dollars). The English-Dutch Shell Company is building an oil refinery whose capacity should total 250,000 barrels a day in Saudi Arabia; all its output is intended for export. The Trans-Arabian oil pipeline, 1,215 kilometers long with a throughput capacity of 1,850,000 barrels a day, has been built; a subsidiary of the American oil giant Mobil Oil handled the construction.<sup>3</sup>

The monopolies' losses and their reduced direct income from oil production are being more than paid back through their continued supremacy in the spheres of transporting, refining, and selling oil on the world market and by carrying out multimillion-dollar projects to build petrochemical plants and oil refineries. Having obtained substantial privileges for themselves in buying crude oil by taking advantage of the limited capabilities of local oil companies as well as the policies of conservative leaders of the Gulf states aspiring toward cooperation with foreign capital, Western monopolies possess important levers of influence in this region of the globe.

In recent years they have also been taking advantage of changes in the world oil market. In the early 1980's the oil consumption curve in Western countries began to drop appreciably and the export of oil from the Gulf states is declining steadily. In 1970-1979 oil consumption in the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) rose by 22 percent. From 1979 through 1982 it dropped by 15 percent. In 1979 the oil production of OPEC member-countries totaled 32 million barrels a day, in 1982 it fell to 18.5 million barrels, and in 1983 -- to 17.5 million barrels.<sup>4</sup> In March 1983 for the first time in 10 years OPEC lowered prices for crude oil from 34 to 29 dollars a barrel and in February 1985 -- to 28 dollars. The supply of oil on the world market exceeded its demand and oil-producing states were forced to seriously restrict the production of "black gold."

The severity of the energy crisis in the capitalist world was eliminated due to a number of circumstances. The acute economic crisis in the developed capitalist countries played a role. Moreover, these countries for the most part managed to achieve significant results in conserving energy, reducing oil consumption, and introducing energy-saving technology. Energy consumption per capita in the United States was reduced by 20 percent in 1978 through 1981.

In Japan 68 percent less oil was used to smelt one ton of steel in 1980 as compared to 1973. In the United States the average automobile used 1 gallon of gas per 19 miles in 1978; but 1983 models saw a different indicator -- 1 gallon per 28.6 miles.<sup>5</sup> Vigorous efforts have been made to develop alternative sources of energy (primarily using coal and developing nuclear power). While the proportion of oil in the world energy supply was 41.4 percent in the 1970's, it was only 24.8 percent in the early 1980's.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, the importance of the Persian Gulf zone to the West even in the 1980's is a result of the dependence of most Western states on an uninterrupted supply of oil from this region. Today all prognoses made in the West proceed from the assumption that in the next 20-30 years oil will remain a product which the world economy will be virtually unable to do without. Even now the Gulf's oil is of major economic importance to the countries of Western Europe and Japan; the United States, which is less dependent on Near East oil, uses the oil factor as a lever of pressure on the countries who import oil, among them its NATO allies, and on their foreign and domestic policies.

Such a factor directly associated with oil as converting the region's countries into exporters of capital (so-called petrodollars) as well as forming a sale market there which would be very advantageous to Western monopolies has helped increase the importance of the Persian Gulf for the developed capitalist countries. OPEC incomes (and approximately two-thirds of the Persian Gulf countries belong) totaled 8 billion dollars in 1970; 115 billion -- in 1978; and 272 billion dollars in 1980. Saudi Arabia's income from oil totaled 1.2 billion dollars in 1970; 29 billion -- in 1974; 55.5 billion -- in 1979; 104.2 billion -- in 1980; and 70 billion dollars in 1982.<sup>7</sup> A new financial center of the capitalist world was formed in the region. Revenue from the oil of the Gulf states, excluding Iran and Iraq, exceeded their domestic needs many times over; the oil monarchies became important exporters of capital and, moreover, to those same industrial centers of capitalism which are the traditional creditors of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Having put various levers in operation, the West for the most part managed to guide the stream of petrodollars in a direction beneficial to it and "recycle" the oil money. The Persian Gulf monarchies, poorly developed economically, account for approximately 85 percent of the financial surplus of OPEC, and this circumstance was conducive to the fact that the main stream of free monetary resources of the oil-producing countries was directed to the leading capitalist powers, above all the United States. Utilizing the international credit mechanism as well as the consequences of inflation (by sharply increasing prices for industrial goods and services exported to the oil-producing countries), the imperialist powers learned how to use petrodollars rather well on the whole to whip up the processes of capitalist development, intensify the integration of the Gulf zone countries into the world capitalist economy as junior partners, and strengthen the trade-economic ties of not only the oil-producing countries but also -- through the system of loans and credits -- of other developing states with the world capitalist economy. "At the present time the entire Persian Gulf region is firmly tied to the Western

financial system and a large part of the banking services are handled either by Western banks or by banks which are run by Western representatives."<sup>8</sup>

In the second half of the 1970's people began to speak of the vigorous activity of Arab bankers, which was unheard of earlier. The acquisition by Kuwaiti leaders of 14 percent of the assets of the Daimler-Benz Company in the FRG, by Saudis of 100 million dollars worth of stock in the American company ITT, and by the leaders of the United Arab Emirates and Qatar of important real estate in Western Europe has become known; Arab capital participates in hundreds of large and smaller companies in Western countries today. The stereotype of the unhurried Arab sheikh enjoying the joys of life in the desert or in Western casinos while his incomes from oil are turned into portfolio investments by Western bankers has become an anachronism. The sons of Arabs leaders who have been educated in the universities of the United States and Western Europe and have been apprentices in very large companies have begun to handle financial transactions independently.

In the opinion of specialists, the U.S. market and the American dollar will remain the main market and the main currency for the government funds of Arab countries. American financiers have pointed out that almost 75 percent of the Saudi Currency Agency's foreign assets were kept in dollars in 1980.<sup>9</sup> Arab capital is expected in other markets as well. I. Bernard, the chairman of a consortium of French and Arab banks, stated that "Arabs should invest more capital in France. Arabs recognize the need to diversify their own portfolio investments and are turning to Europe, primarily France."<sup>10</sup> The influx of capital from Arab countries to Japan as well as the countries of Asia and Latin America has sharply increased.

Many Arab financial associations have been founded and are actively functioning.<sup>11</sup> Now that these banks, holding companies, and consortiums have already existed for several years, the conclusion may be drawn that a new system of economic interrelations of developed capitalist countries and the rich oil-producing states of the Gulf is being created and financial problems are an important part of it. As in other spheres, the West is retreating under pressure of increasing Arab oil capital but only where it can no longer maintain its positions and only in those directions in which it desires to attract free capital in order to thereby preserve its supremacy. Nonetheless, Arab banks must still gain a foothold in the West's financial markets as an independent force managing their own assets.

Since they are potentially a large force, the investments of Arab oil-producing countries in the West today for the most part serve the interests of Western state-monopoly capitalism. The "injection" of Arab petrodollars helps somewhat slacken the currency-financial difficulties the Western economy is experiencing. Thus, as the FINANCIAL TIMES reviewer N. Colchester noted, the situation where the "countries of the West have much more national wealth than cash" is preserved while the OPEC countries have "much more cash than national wealth."<sup>12</sup>

In point of fact, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar are acquiring features of rentier-states which can live on interest from their investments in the West's economy. In 1982 foreign investments brought Saudi



Arabia 15 billion dollars, Kuwait -- 8.7 billion dollars (even exceeding income from oil), Qatar -- 1.5 billion, and the United Arab Emirates -- about 1 billion dollars.<sup>13</sup> True, the prospects in this regard are not too bright. Today a number of new phenomena can already be ascertained: in the first place, stabilized demand for oil and reduced production volumes; secondly, reduced prices for oil; and thirdly, the appearance of budget deficits in Arab monarchies because of increased expenditures for development. Let us note these facts as well: the United Arab Emirates budget for 1982/1983 was 18 percent lower than the previous one, while it was reduced by 40 percent in 1983/1984 as compared to 1981/1982.<sup>14</sup> The governments of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates announced that they have been forced to use incomes from financial reserves to cover budget deficits. All this points to the short-term and market-derived nature of the Gulf countries' "oil boom."

In addition to oil and petrodollars the monopolies' interest in the Persian Gulf countries is a result of the enormous, steadily increasing demand of the latter for industrial, consumer, and foodstuff goods and services and especially -- for arms. Here, for example, are some facts on American exports to Saudi Arabia. This country was in sixth place among the trade partners of the United States in 1982 (seventh -- in 1981). The structure of American exports is invariable: 50 percent of them are machines, equipment, and transport; foodstuffs account for more than 10 percent; and consumer goods account for about the same.<sup>15</sup> There are also "special relations" between the Saudi kingdom and the United States in the sphere of trade. American-Saudi trade conferences have already become regular. Saudi Arabian authorities are posing the question of their country being granted most favored nation status, which up to now it has not been given. The production of commodities exported from the United States to this country (a total of up to 1 billion dollars) provides work for 30,000 Americans. But the U.S. government does not yet plan to grant this status to the Saudi kingdom.<sup>16</sup> Such an original interpretation by the American side of the "special relations" is obviously not explained simply by the desire to obtain as much profit as possible now but also by fears that cheap output from the Saudi petrochemical industry will soon appear on the world market.

Japanese firms are the main competitor of American companies in the Gulf markets. Japan activated its trade operations in the region more than 10 years ago. The 1973 oil embargo and the subsequent increase in oil prices increased Japanese capital's attention on it even more. The EEC [European Economic Community] countries' share totals about 30 percent of the exports and 35 percent of the imports of the region's countries and Western European trade partners are showing more and more activism.

At the present time the output of petrochemical enterprises built on Arab soil has already begun to enter the Western European market and this worries the monopolies a great deal. For example, in the fall of 1984, at Holland's demand, the EEC countries introduced a 13.5 percent duty on methanol imported from Saudi Arabia. In connection with this the newspaper AL'BAYAN wrote: "Such an infringement upon Saudi Arabia's interests is a part of politics whose purpose is to undermine the industrial development of 'third world' countries and the Arab countries in particular."<sup>17</sup>



In this way, as the "oil boom" recedes and the Arabs spend their opportunities to use the "oil weapon", it becomes apparent that the oil factor's impact on the socioeconomic development of the Gulf countries was short-lived. The character of this group of countries' economic relations with the West loses its exclusiveness; they develop more and more on the same bases as the relations of other liberated countries. In promoting some economic growth and development, the limited industrialization being carried out in the Gulf countries at the same time strengthens the dependent position of the group of countries in the world capitalist economy. The reason for this is general socioeconomic backwardness which cannot be overcome even with the help of petrodollars. The self-seeking tactics of Western monopolies also play a role.

Proud statements that "there is enough money for everything" and one can buy whatever one might want, "from missiles to herbariums," are no longer heard in the Gulf countries today. High consumer demand whipped up by the "oil boom" and encouraged by Western companies is gradually stabilizing.

The enormous profits which the sale of arms to oil monarchies, who spend a large part of the oil dollars on equipping their armed forces with the most modern military hardware, brings to monopolies are a factor which stimulates the monopolies' interest in the region. The military expenditures of the region's countries in 1973, 1978, and 1980 were, respectively: Bahrain -- 37.5 million dollars, 108 million dollars, and 149 million dollars; Iran (before the revolution) -- 3.982 billion dollars, 9.165 billion dollars, and 4.04 billion dollars; Kuwait -- 414 million dollars, 1.122 billion dollars, and 1.679 billion dollars; Oman -- 121 million dollars, 762 million dollars, and 1.178 billion dollars; Saudi Arabia -- 3.447 billion dollars, 11.717 billion dollars, and 18.474 billion dollars; and the United Arab Emirates -- 13.5 million dollars, 791 million dollars, and 1.179 billion dollars.<sup>18</sup>

The subheading "expenditures for defense" is firmly in first place in the plans and budgets of the Saudi government. A report on the fact that the Pentagon plans to sell 1,200 M-1 Abrahams tanks to Saudi Arabia in the coming years appeared in the American press in the spring of 1983. The NEW YORK TIMES wrote that the sale of the tanks would be one of the forms of deploying heavy weapons in the region for the potential use of the United States. If American troops are to be sent to Saudi Arabia, their weapons which are difficult to transport will already be there. Military observers conjectured that the number of tanks beyond those which Saudi Arabia can incorporate will be enough to equip three U.S. mechanized divisions."<sup>19</sup>

The abundance of conflict situations in the Persian Gulf zone makes the arms race unleashed by the Western powers and local monarchy regimes there especially dangerous. Western monopolies are playing with the fates of the region's peoples and creating a situation there which, if it becomes any more aggravated, can lead to the most destructive consequences.

In the policy of the Western powers in the Persian Gulf in the first half of the 1980's, the goals to which imperialism has applied considerable effort for decades have remained unchanged. This means preservation of an uninterrupted and adequate supply of oil as well as markets for sales, preservation of

their military and political presence in the region, and suppression of national-democratic movements with the all-out support of the current monarchy regimes. However, the attitude of the leading imperialist power toward the Persian Gulf has changed. Facts confirm that establishing its military-political control has become the United States' main goal in the region. U.S. military infiltration into the region is steadily growing.

The Soviet Union counters the aggressive acts of the Western powers, and above all the United States, with a positive program focused on normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf region and establishing stability and peace there. In affirming proposals made earlier by the USSR, K.U. Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, announced in October 1984: "We favor restricting the naval activities of foreign states in these regions, not permitting the creation of foreign military bases and deployment of nuclear weapons there, no threat of using force, and no intervention in the internal affairs of the countries located there."<sup>20</sup> The realization of these proposals would undoubtedly help relieve tension in the Persian Gulf region and improve the international situation as a whole.

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## TREND TOWARD GRADUAL SECULARIZATION IN ARAB STATES OBSERVED

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[Article by A.A. Ignatenko: "The Secularization of the Arab World"]

[Excerpts] A great deal of research is being published today about the relative revival of religion in the Arab countries, especially the ever-increasing role of Islam.<sup>1</sup> And it would not seem to be the time to begin talking of the secularization processes occurring in them.<sup>2</sup> But observers who are well acquainted with the situation in these countries speak of the "de-Islamization" of the Arab world, its "tip-toeing away from Islam,"<sup>3</sup> and the "silent secularization"<sup>4</sup> of all areas of life. And emphasis is put not only on the existence of the process itself, but also on its secrecy and the inadequate study it has received. "There is no religious form of government in any Arab country,"<sup>5</sup> a Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party brochure asserts. Such statements are not isolated ones. Researchers who attempt to "draw attention to a phenomenon which is substantially less striking and less studied (than the relative revival of religion -- author) but no less real because of it. . . namely, secularization,"<sup>6</sup> are also beginning to do research.

According to data from the Tunisian researcher B. Aliui, 90 percent of the students in elementary schools, 92 percent in secondary schools, and 92.2 percent in higher education do not pray in mosques. Among rural youth (18-25 years of age) in Algeria, 73.8 percent of the girls and 74 percent of the young men do not pray at all.<sup>7</sup> Of 386 Moroccans from 11 to 80 years of age surveyed in Casablanca, Rabat, and Tangiers (69.3 percent were from 18-25 years old), not one listens to religious radio broadcasts.<sup>8</sup>

Sociological research has shown that the Lebanese proletariat and representatives of other working classes have a high level of secular political consciousness. Workers who come from various religious denominational groups are guided by their own class interests rather than communal religious views in evaluating the internal political situation in the country.<sup>9</sup>

In order to identify the degree of religiosity of the Egyptian peasantry, the sociologist Kamal' al'-Manufi analyzed the views of representatives of two generations -- "fathers" and "sons" -- who live together. The questions asked



were understood and close to the fellah: 1)What is the reason for the widespread distribution of the cotton worm? 2)What does a man's prosperity depend on? 3)What is the cause of illness? 4)Why was Egypt defeated in the 1967 war? 5)What is the main feature of a virtuous ruler? But let us immediately note that even among old people not everyone referred to "God's will" (47 percent in the first age group, 76 percent in the second age group, 70 percent in the third age group, and 58.67 percent in the fourth age group). Of representatives of the older generation 62.68 percent named religious faith as the main feature of the "ideal ruler." Statistical data on the responses of young people looks like this: 94.67 percent of the young people believe that the widespread distribution of the cotton worm is a result of poor management and poor plant care; 84 percent are certain that success in life depends on a man's practical adroitness; 78.67 percent blame the man himself for neglecting his own health; 90.66 percent see the causes of the defeat in unpreparedness for war and poor military and political leadership; 86.67 percent named various other features of the "ideal ruler" ("concern for the people's interests," "fairness," and so on) but not his religious convictions. The author draws the conclusion from this that there is a tendency expressed by rural youth in Egypt and, accordingly, the Egyptian peasantry toward a secular vision of the world and politics.<sup>10</sup>

The cited cases of changes in mass consciousness are a manifestation of the deep transformation of Arab societies, which are governed in their development by general sociological laws. Economic progress, urbanization, the spread of education, and mediated participation by the popular masses in solving the problems of their corresponding countries are also helping remove religion from various spheres of social life. But in actual conditions the general patterns are realized in particular ways. For example, the rapid growth of cities which among other things is a consequence of accelerated industrialization, can lead to a temporary surge of religious influence in urban centers as a result of the stream of people coming from the countryside who, as a rule, adhere to traditional beliefs to a greater degree than urban dwellers. This occurs in varying degrees everywhere in the region -- from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. Nonetheless, the uniqueness of the situation here is the combination of this surge with the less tangible but quite effective secularization.

Therefore, if we begin from the fact that secularization processes in Arab countries are in fact taking place, a number of questions arise: What forms does it take? In what conditions does it occur? What factors determine it? And what factors prevent it? Such a review of the problems allows the trends and prospects of both secularization itself and a number of important aspects of the social life of the entire region to be evaluated. In fact, that is the purpose of this article.

The first group of problems which necessitate secularization stem from the "profound imbalance of the processes of industrial growth and social transformation of society," -- an imbalance which has "clearly become critical".

Of course, in a number of Arab countries a modern sector of the economy (and more broadly -- of the entire society) has arisen and is becoming stronger:

petroleum extraction and refining; the introduction of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution into the sphere of transportation, communications, and weapons; the development of industry, agriculture, and power engineering; and the improvement of medical services, the educational system, and so forth. Capitalist production relations also predominate in this sector of the countries of capitalist orientation. This is where the corresponding standards of living and behavior are formed and the perception of the world and the sociopsychological atmosphere change. Important fields of social life not directly tied to production are thereby "modernized."

The traditional sector with its backward -- and as a rule precapitalist -- structures and relations is a type of "counterweight" to this sector. It prevents the expansion of the modern sector, continually reproducing not only obsolete production relations but the age-old system of views and actions. It is as if the traditional sector were "cemented" by religion (primarily Islam). Therefore, many aspects of the vital activity and development of the modern sector inevitably come into conflict with religion.<sup>12</sup> This is fair not only in relation to the countries of capitalist development but to those which have made the socialist choice, although the category apparatus for analyzing the problem applied to it must be somewhat different.

The existence of the "modern" sector brings about a need for appropriate legislation to regulate relations in this sector. One of the characteristic features of this legislation is its temporality and secularity. If the relations of Near Eastern countries with the outside world are examined, it becomes clear that legal regulation of economic, political, cultural, and other ties is accomplished in accordance with international public law which was already secularized long ago.

As for creating and using law, beginning with the second half of the 19th century, its formation took place through adoption of the norms of bourgeois, temporal law of the Western European states. This process occurred in different forms in various Arab countries. The legal consolidation of relations of the modern sector in the countries of capitalist development being observed today is its direct continuation. Measures in the field of work legislation carried out back in the period of rule of King Faysal in Saudi Arabia are precisely bourgeois in nature: the adoption of laws on social security (1964), labor relations (1969), and social insurance (1970).<sup>13</sup> It should be noted here that since 1962 the Juridical Council which consists of 20 "ulem's" (experts in Islamic law) has been of a purely consultative nature.<sup>14</sup> In Kuwait the priority of legal norms has been legislatively established in the following sequence: public (temporal) law; common law; and Islamic law.<sup>15</sup>

Countries which have proclaimed a socialist orientation in development accept certain principles and norms of socialist law. This process is characteristic of Algeria in particular. The accountability report of the 5th Congress of the National Liberation Front (FLN) noted that in the period of development and broad discussion of the Universal Statute of the Worker (1979-1983), efforts were made to "reorganize labor legislation in the direction of protecting the rights of the worker and extensively introducing labor payment in accordance with the principle of 'to each according to his labor.'"<sup>16</sup>

The introduction of certain norms of Islamic law into the public law of the Arab states does not turn it into religious law but represents including new elements in the temporal legal system which is taking shape. A fundamental change in the system itself does not occur primarily because the field of application of these norms is very restricted. Thus, when the law (No 74, 1972) on prohibiting interest on a loan (riba) was introduced, it was noted that it did not extend to relations with foreign contractors.<sup>17</sup>

In some cases the use of certain norms of Islamic law is a forced measure. For example, Algeria inherited many forms of the personal statute from the colonial period: principles of the "maliki,"<sup>18</sup> "ibadi,"<sup>19</sup> and "Kabyl"<sup>20</sup> (artificially generated by the colonizers) personal statute were applied in the country. The "Kabyl" statute substantially restricted the property rights of women and their position in society. Principles of Islamic law were applied in decisions of the country's Supreme Court to the point of adopting the civil family code (1984). This, in the first place, offered women greater rights than the "Kabyl" statute and, secondly, to a certain degree helped standardize the legal position of women in conditions where the civil family code had not yet been adopted.

Islamic law continues to exist as an independent legal system in Arab countries but the sphere of its application does not go beyond intramosque affairs, certain marriage-family relations, and certain civil transactions.<sup>21</sup> In addition, appeals to Islamic law, as to the precepts of Islam in general, often figure in political slogans, speeches, and so forth. This has made it necessary (both for official authorities and for the opposition) to adapt to the basically still-religious thinking not only of those engaged in the traditional sector but of the enormous mass of illiterate paupers "cast out" of the countryside into the city who have not found a place for themselves in the modern sector.

The modern sector in Arab countries is undoubtedly interested in eliminating illiteracy and in the systematic, by-stage dissemination of scientific knowledge and ideas about the world. There is also a reason for the conflict with religion in this sphere: many "ulem's" (and even more so teachers of Mosque Koran schools) assert and teach that the earth is flat, for example. Even King Faysal of Saudi Arabia in 1974 in annoyance advised them to go to Europe to "study up on things" and "not come back for a while."<sup>22</sup> Fundamental reforms in the field of education were carried out back in the 1960's in all Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Tunisia, and others) to marginalize the entire system of religious instruction (subjugate it to the influence of the state). At the present time Saudi Arabia is posing the task of creating a "healthy technological climate" throughout the entire society.<sup>23</sup> The Arab League (LAG) organ published an article of the consultative cabinet of ministers of state of Kuwait in which persistent appeals to "reject the supernatural approach" to phenomena were heard, since a "society whose members at heart do not believe in the laws that govern the universe and life is unable to make political and social decisions on a scientific basis, appropriate to these laws."<sup>24</sup>



The modern sector is also interested in changing the traditional attitude toward women. "Women are the focus of all social contradictions,"<sup>25</sup> says an Algerian female researcher. Their status is a clear indicator of the domination or breakdown of traditional attitudes. State figures deal with the status of women in connection with problems of developing the "modern" sector. "In the Gulf states we suffer from an acute shortage of local labor and compensate for it by importing foreign work force, since women -- approximately half the society -- do not work." It was precisely this aspect of the "woman question" which was touched upon in an interview with the minister of labor and social affairs of Qatar.<sup>26</sup>

Solving the "woman question" is closely related to settling other social problems as well. In particular, a specific demographic situation has taken shape in Arab countries in the last decade. Children less than 4 years of age make up 19 percent of the entire population of Algeria; 15.1 percent -- of Tunisia; 18.6 percent -- of Saudi Arabia; 18.3 percent -- of Syria; 18.8 percent -- of Iraq; 20.7 percent -- of Kuwait; 18.8 percent -- of Libya; 15.6 percent -- of Egypt; and 18.2 percent -- of Morocco.<sup>27</sup> There are various estimates of the demographic prospects of the Arab countries, but in most of the region's countries the population should approximately double by the year 2,000 under the existing structure and rate of growth. Problems of food, housing, education, employment, and medical services are becoming very acute as a result of the "rejuvenation" of society and population growth.

Some countries are trying to find a solution to this by restricting the birth-rate. Thus, on the basis of a study made by the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), appropriate recommendations were developed in Morocco in 1964-1965. Among other things, it was proposed that contraceptives be widely introduced.<sup>28</sup> Similar measures conducted in the country later led to a confrontation with certain norms of religion. In the first place, they provoked a negative response from the adherents of traditional views; secondly, these measures were not reinforced by an appeal to the precepts of Islam. This appeal was impossible if only because from the standpoint of the maliki interpretation of Islam law which is prevalent in Morocco, the use of contraceptives is unacceptable for a Muslim. Legislative acts adopted in connection with this (the king's decree of 26 August 1966, the law of 1 July 1967, and others) helped secularize the Moroccan legal system further.

There are a number of important reasons which compel state authorities in Arab countries to carry out, despite many obstacles, at least minimal secularization of internal political life as well. In recent years the number of nongovernmental religious-political organizations (NRPO), which means religious-political associations, groupings, and parties that reject state control over their activities, has been increasingly appreciably.<sup>29</sup> The NRPO's are petty bourgeois in class composition. The fear of the small landowner -- the representative of the traditional sector in the city and the countryside -- for his existence is expressed in an illusory, religious form in their origin and activity, program slogans, and goals. Proletarianization and pauperization, inevitable when Arab countries develop along the capitalist path, frighten him. This is the origin of the NRPO appeals for property equality under the protection of Islam, anticapitalist phraseology, speeches against everything "Western" -- mores and way of life, and -- not the least --



against highly developed technology and the predominance of highly competitive goods, that is, the struggle against everything which threatens the small producer, tradesman, and craftsman.

Thus, secularization is an imperative for development of the "modern" sector and the entire society which can be recognized but cannot be proclaimed. The state is more or less consistently following a policy of supplanting religion and it is having concrete results (the separation of religion and politics, secularization of the law, emancipation of women, dissemination of scientific ideas, marginalization of religious education, changes in mass consciousness, and so forth). But it would not be enough to restrict oneself to this conclusion.<sup>30</sup> There are serious obstacles to secularization which, no matter how paradoxical, the state itself creates. The causes of this duality, in addition to the ones mentioned earlier, are in the very class nature of states which follow the capitalist path. The ruling groups are not in a position to eliminate the traditional sector, using fundamental measures which transform social relations and change the bases of the social order to do this, but it is precisely these transformations which could open the way for subsequent secularization. "Not in a position" means both "are not able" and "do not want."<sup>31</sup> It may be the Tunisian researcher put it too harshly, calling those conditions where the "modern" and traditional sectors clash in these countries "a state close to schizophrenia."<sup>32</sup> Moreover, aspiring to use religion as a channel of influence on the masses for certain political purposes determined primarily by the class nature of the regimes remains the general trend in the countries of different sociopolitical orientation.

But what are the prospects for the complex and contradictory process of removing religion from the social life of the Arab countries? Secularization is a lengthy process. It has already been going on in Western Europe for a long time but is still not complete. In Arab countries it has begun and in all probability will continue for a long time. This is not just because of the complexity and contradictoriness of the political, ideological, and cultural situation in these countries and the aspirations of imperialism, Zionism, and internal reaction to play on the difficulties of developing the Arab world and isolate and destroy the adherents of socialism and progress, including using the religiosity of the broad masses. An equally important factor is the heterogeneity of the socioeconomic base in the Arab countries, which predetermines the presence and necessarily long existence of various social orders with all their inherent features, including traditional canons of thinking and worldview. Therefore, the length of the secularization process will depend on the results of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and internal reaction which has been going on in Arab countries for a long time, as well as on the struggle for revolutionary social transformations and for structural changes in the base and superstructure of Arab society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This refers mainly to the research of foreign authors. A number of important works on the general problems of Islam in all countries where it has been disseminated have been published in Soviet literature of recent years. See: B.A. Aliyeva, "Sovremennyy islam i nauka"

[Contemporary Islam and Science], Moscow, 1981; I.L. Andreyev, "Islam and the Struggle for Social Progress in Liberated Countries" in VOPROSY NAUCHNOGO ATEIZMA, Issue 31, Moscow, 1983, pp 10-32; A. Ahmedov, "Sotsial'naya doktrina islama" [The Social Doctrine of Islam], Moscow, 1982; B.S. Yerasov, "Sotsial'no-kul'turnyye traditsii i obshchestvennoye soznaniye v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Azii i Afriki" [Sociocultural Traditions and Social Consciousness in the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa], Moscow, 1982; B. S. Yerasov, "Islam v istorii narodov Vostoka" [Islam in the History of the Peoples of the East], Moscow, 1981; B. S. Yerasov, "Islam v stranakh Blizhnego i Srenego Vostoka" [Islam in the Countries of the Near and Middle East], Moscow, 1982; M.T. Stepanyants, "Musul'manskiye kontseptsii v filosofii i politike (XIX-XX vv.)" [Muslim Conceptions in Philosophy and Politics (19th-20th Centuries)], Moscow, 1982.

2. "Secularization" refers to the liberation of various spheres of social life from the influence of religion. The corresponding Arab word "al'mana" has the same root as the word "alyam" (world) and "il'm" (science) and, thus, simultaneously means both "scientification" and "temporalization," quite precisely expressing the essence of the process in question.
3. The words of Muhammed Tal'bi, historian and former dean of the faculty of literature and humanitarian sciences at Tunisia University (see: ISLAMOCRISTIANA, Rome, No 7, 1981, p 63).
4. An expression of the well-known Lebanese lawyer Edmond Ribat (see: AL'-KHAVADIS, No 1,344, 1982, p 75).
5. "Fi-l'-kavmiyya va-t-taifiyya" [On Nationalism and Confessionalism], Shuf, 1980, p 22.
6. The Appeal of Abdelmajid Charfi, teacher of Islamology at the Higher Normal School (city of Tunis). See: Abdelmajid Charfi, "Secularization in Contemporary Arab-Muslim Societies," ISLAMOCRISTIANA, No 8, 1982, p 57.
7. REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, No 970, 1982, p 24.
8. See: W. Ruf, "Dependence and Cultural Alienation" in "Independence et interdependences au Maghreb" [Independence and Interdependences in Maghreb], Paris, 1974, p 248. All those surveyed were always able to listen to radio broadcasts of their own choice.
9. See: Salim Nasser and Claude Dubar, "At-tabakat al'-idzhtimaiyya fi Lyubnan" [Social Classes in Lebanon], Beirut, 1982, p 340.
10. See: Kamal' al'-Manufi, "As-sakafa as-siyasiyya li-l'-fallyakhin al'-misriyin" [The Political Sophistication of the Egyptian Peasantry], Beirut, 1980, pp 256-259.

11. "Vostok: rubezh 80-kh godov (Osvobodivshiesya strany v sovremennom mire)" [The East: Frontier of the 1980's (Liberated Countries in the Contemporary World)], Moscow, 1983, p 61.
12. In this case secularization to a significant degree becomes a focused process whose agent is the states, since it is the state which embodies and directs the modern sector in Arab countries.
13. See: L.V. Val'kova, "Saudovskaya Araviya v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniyakh" [Saudi Arabia in International Relations], Moscow, 1979, pp 22-23.
14. See: S.A. Kaminskiy, "Institut monarkhii v stranakh Arabskogo Vostoka" [The Institution of Monarchy in the Countries of the Arab East], Moscow, 1981, p 48.
15. See: ASH-SHARK AL'-AVSAT, 16 November 1983.
16. EL MOUDJAHID, 24 December 1983.
17. See: B. Atallah, "Juridical Acculturation in North Africa: The Case of Algeria and Libya" in "Independence et interdependences au Maghreb," op. cit., p 193. Some specialists in the field of Islamic law believe that 5 percent annual interest is not "riba" and accordingly not prohibited (see: ASH-SHARK AL'AVSAT, 18 December 1983).
18. The maliki mazhab (interpretation) is one of four orthodox juridical schools of Sunni Islam.
19. The ibadis are a sect dating back to the Kharidzhits of the 7th century who also opposed the Sunnis and the Shi'iaṣ.
20. The Kabyl "personal statute" is the adherence of the Berbers of Kabyliya to their own customary law (as opposed to the Shariat).
21. It is essential to "distinguish religious Muslim law and the law of Muslim states" (BSE, Vol 17, Moscow, 1974, p 134).
22. See: M. Dahmani, "L'occidentalisation des pays du Tiers monde: mythes et realites" [The Westernization of Third World Countries: Myths and Realities], Paris-Algiers, 1983, p 82.
23. ASH-SHARK AL'-AVSAT, 3 January 1984.
24. Akhmad Kaml' Abu-l'-Madzhd, "An Attempt at Functional Use of Islamic Culture When Implementing Social and Political Changes in Arab and Muslim Societies" in SHUUN ARABIYYA, No 29, 19?? [last digits obscured], p 22.
25. N. Chelig-Ainad-Tabet, "The Modern Muslim Woman as Seen by Algerian Students," in "Le Maghreb musulman en 1979" [The Muslim Maghreb in 1979], Paris, 1981, p 147.
26. See: ASH-SHARK AL'-AVSAT, 5 May 1983.

27. See: AL'-FAYSAL', No 74, 1983, pp 80-82. The corresponding indicator in the FRG is 4.9 percent, in France -- 6.8 percent, in Italy -- 6.3 percent, and in Great Britain -- 5.8 percent.
28. See: M. Bouzidi, "Islam and Moroccan Society Face Contraception" in "Le Maghreb musulman en 1979," op. cit., p 293.
29. The best-known NRPO, operating in virtually all the countries of the region is the "Muslim Brotherhood." But even a partial list of NRPO's can be quite long. In Syria, in addition to the "Muslim Brotherhood," there is the Islamic Liberation Movement (kharaka at-takhrir al'-islyami), the "Muhammed Phalanxes" (kataib Mukhammad), and the "War of Allah" (Dzhunud allakh); in Morocco -- the "Association of Islamic Youth" (dzhamiyyat ash-shabiba al'-islyamiyya), the "Islamic Appeal" (ad-daava al'-islyamiyya), the "Vanguard of Islam" (taliat al'-islyam), the "Association of Islamic Revival" (dzhamiyyat al'-baas al'-islyami), the "People of Truth" (akhl' al'-khakk), and others; in Tunisia -- the "Islamic Orientation" (al'-ittidzhakh al'-islyami) Movement, the Islamic "Council" (shura) Party, the Islamic Liberation Party" (khizb at-takhrir al'-islyami), and the "Vanguard of Islam" (taliat al'-islyam); in Egypt -- the "Islamic Liberation Party," the Islamic Groups" (al'-dzhamaat al'-islyamiyya), the "Youth of Muhammed" (shabibat Mukhammad), and the "Holy War" (al'-dzhikhad) organization; in Iraq -- the "Islamic Appeal Party" (khizb ad-daava al'-islyamiyya) and the "Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution" (al'-madzhlis al'-aalya li-s-savra al'-islyamiyya); in the Sudan -- the "Islamic Democratic Party" (al'-khizb ad-diumokrati al'-islyami); in Saudi Arabia -- Sunni organizations: the "Group for Emulation of Virtuous Ancestors" (dzhamaa aas-salyaf as-salikh), the "Appealers" (akhl' ad-daava), the "Monotheists," (akhl' at-tavkhid), and others; and Shi'ia organizations: "Dawn" (al'-fadzhar), "Committees of Martyrs of Hussein" (lidzhan shukhada Khuseyn), and "Islamic Revolution" (as-savra al'-islyamiyya); in Lebanon, whose political life was characterized earlier by the presence of a large number of religious-political associations, the Sunni "Monotheist Party" (khizb at-tavkhid) and the Shi'ia "Hope" (amal') Movement have originated.
30. If we did this, Saudi Arabia would appear as a kind of "stronghold of secularism" whose example the points of the article illustrated as indicative (the presence of the "modern" and traditional sectors in a country which is the world center of Islam).
31. See: "Vostok: rubezh. . . ", op. cit., pp 63-64.
32. Habib Boulares, "L'Islam: la peur et l'esperance" [Islam: Fear and Hope], Paris, 1983, p 231.

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## KIEV UNIVERSITY SCHOLARS STUDYING ASIAN, AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

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[Article by I.F. Karpinskiy and N.N. Kisel' under the rubric "Scientific Life": "Orientalist and Africanist Economic Research at Kiev State University"]

[Text] Work on the problems of Eastern studies began in the Ukraine after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Kiev State University imeni T.G. Shevchenko is the center for organizing research on Eastern studies and African studies there. The beginning of extensive study of Eastern problems is linked to the name of Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences A. Ye. Krymskiy (1871-1942), prominent scientist, author of numerous works on the history, literature, and religion of the Arab East, Iran, and Turkey, writer, and Slavist.<sup>1</sup> A.Ye. Krymskiy was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences where, by his initiative, a department engaging in the study of the countries of Eastern peoples was organized. During this period Kiev Orientalists focused their attention on the history, culture, daily life, and languages of these peoples.

As the content of the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries enlarged, interest in studying the social and economic problems of the countries of the East naturally increased at Kiev State University. This direction of Orientalist research began to be intensively developed in the 1950's-1960's. Scientists have focused their efforts on comprehensive, by-country analysis of the socioeconomic problems of development of the non-Soviet East.<sup>2</sup> G.N. Klimko, doctor of economic sciences and professor of the university's economics department, is successfully engaged in studying these problems. The objective socioeconomic bases of noncapitalist development of the liberated countries and the nature of socioeconomic transformations in the states of socialist orientation are explored in his works.<sup>3</sup>

Scientists are devoting a great deal of attention to analyzing the implementation of socioeconomic transformations in the countries of the East. In particular, problems of the state sector of the economies of developing countries are being systematically formulated. A number of works by A.V. Kulish are devoted to studying the state sector as a tool in the struggle of these countries for economic independence.<sup>4</sup> Economic patterns of formation

and development of the state sector are explored in the works of I.F. Karpinskiy.<sup>5</sup> The essence of the state sector in countries of different sociopolitical orientation and its progressive role and anti-imperialist orientation in the struggle of many liberated states for economic independence are examined in the works of these authors. Questions of the class struggle, whose object is more and more frequently the state sector, are also receiving theoretical study.<sup>6</sup> One of the results of the research on this problem is the collective monograph "The State Sector and Socioeconomic Progress in the Developing Countries" (1980). Its goal is comprehensive study of the problems of formation and development of the state sector in independent countries of Asia and Africa. The authors of the monograph consider the state sector of the economy not only as part of the national economy but as an objectively resulting form of social production which has the leading role in overcoming the economic backwardness and dependence of these countries. The authors explore two facets of the state sector -- the technical-economic and the socioeconomic; the first reveals its material-physical content, the second -- its class essence. The work's analysis of the socioeconomic nature of the state sector in liberated countries of different sociopolitical orientation should be especially noted. The authors substantiate and propose an approach to exploring the social essence of the state sector which has achieved recognition in economic literature: through analyzing the socioeconomic forms of realization of state property. The authors draw the conclusion that the process of socialist orientation has many stages and "because of this there appear transitional, intermediate versions of the state and transitional economic forms appropriate to it."<sup>7</sup> The monograph substantiates the proposition that the development of noncapitalist forms of production in the countries of socialist orientation creates the preconditions for changing the nature of production relations and opens up realistic opportunities to not only transform a multistructured economy but social relations as well.<sup>8</sup> The monograph's critical analysis of views on the socioeconomic nature of the state sector in the countries of socialist orientation as well as the structural-logical scheme of technical-economic and socioeconomic features of the state sector in the countries of capitalist and socialist orientation is of scientific interest.

Scientists attribute great significance to studying base processes in the liberated countries, the state sector's efficiency, its position and role in the reproduction mechanism of the multistructured economy, the expansion of monopoly capital in the developing countries of Asia and Africa, and others. Thus, N.N. Kisel's work is devoted to exploration of the socioeconomic nature of forms of production moving toward socialist ones in countries which are on the path to socialism through noncapitalist development and to the patterns of formation and development of the leading way of life in the liberated countries of socialist orientation.<sup>9</sup> According to the author, a particular social form of acquisition in which capitalist elements occupy a subordinate position arises in the state sector of the countries of socialist orientation. As the revolutionary process develops an accumulation of elements of real acquisition and use by working people of an increasing part of the means of production and production product occurs in state property relations. The production product reflects the process of development of socialist-oriented state ownership.

Questions of the patterns of the formation of the socialist foundations of noncapitalist development, of the economic policy of the state, and of analysis of internal and external factors in the development of the countries of socialist orientation are the topics of V.I. Kravchenko's research.<sup>10</sup> R.L. Balakin's dissertation work is devoted to the mechanism of planned regulation of the national economy in young states.<sup>11</sup> It explores the nature and evolution of the economic relations of partially-planned development as an objective basis for planning in independent countries and also poses the problem of applying some of the most general principles and methods of socialist planning in specific conditions of the planning practices of the countries of socialist orientation. The works of A.V. Kulish, A.V. Radchenko, A.A. Tkach, and I.F. Karpinskiy<sup>12</sup> explore sources for financing development of the state sector as well as the problems of savings; in particular, the content of the system of relations of savings and the economic mechanism of its formation and development is revealed, the specifics of the operation of the universal law of capitalist savings in liberated countries are demonstrated, the range, forms, and nature of the impact of foreign capital on the process of forming the mechanism of savings are defined, and the state's role in the formation of this mechanism is analyzed.

Economic scientists have given more attention to exploring the problems of the efficiency of the state sector and to foreign sources of savings. The works of G.N. Klimko, A.V. Kulish, I.F. Karpinskiy, A.A. Tkach, and O.I. Soskin note that there are three levels of efficiency of the state sector in the economies of liberated countries: the individual enterprise; state enterprises as a group; and the impact of the state sector on the development of the entire multistructured economy. In light of this, the state sector's efficiency is reflected in three main parameters: the production-technical parameter (the amount of output produced per unit of capital and its quality); the technical-economic parameter (commercial efficiency); and the socioeconomic parameter, manifested in the state sector's social role in fulfilling strategic tasks of development. The first and second levels are the technical-economic, value-based income rate, that is, commercial profitability; the third level represents socioeconomic and national economic profitability.<sup>13</sup>

The formulation of the problems of savings and efficiency required a comprehensive analysis of reproduction processes and consideration of the various influencing factors. In connection with this, a number of works examine the role of the export sector in the reproduction process of the economies of liberated countries.<sup>14</sup> A great deal of attention is devoted to the changes in the socioeconomic structure which occur under the influence of the export sector and to uncovering the mechanism of its direct and mediated impact on different economic structures.

The problems of the agrarian system of the countries of the East, transformations in the agriculture of the countries of socialist orientation and the socioeconomic consequences of the realization of the agrarian policy of these countries, and the role of cooperation in socioeconomic development occupy an important place in the research of the University's scientists.<sup>15</sup> Questions related to the expansion of monopoly capital in the developing countries of Asia are covered. They explore the factors which predetermined the conversion of MNK [possibly multinational corporations] into



neocolonialism's main tool of strategy and tactics and such a comparatively little-studied question as the formation of the international state-monopoly mechanism for regulating and maintaining the expansion of MNK's into the liberated countries, as well as features of this process in conditions of the struggle of developing countries for a new international economic order.<sup>16</sup>

New trends in the export of capital from imperialist states to the developing countries in conditions of the latter's struggle for economic independence in the contemporary stage of the general crisis of capitalism are reflected in the works of L.F. Nesterenko.<sup>17</sup> Criticism of anti-Marxist economic conceptions of the development of the liberated countries is a special direction of Orientalist research.<sup>18</sup>

Scientists are devoting a great deal of attention to questions of the economic cooperation of socialist and developing countries.<sup>19</sup> Kiev University publishes the republic's inter-VUZ collection VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII and the series MIROVOYE KAPITALISTICHESKOYE KHOZYAYSTVO I RAZVIVAYUSHCHIYESYA STRANY, the VESTNIK KIEVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, and the series EKONOMIKA.

The university's Orientalists participate in international, all-Union, and republic symposiums and conferences devoted to the problems of the developing countries.<sup>19</sup> Extensive training of specialists in the problems of the developing countries is conducted at the university.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: A.Yu. Krimskiy, "Bibliografichnyi pokazhchik" [Bibliographical Guide], Kiev, 1972.
2. A.K. Koshik, "Demokraticheskaya Respublika V'yetnam" [The Democratic Republic of Vietnam], Kiev, 1957; M.K. Korostarenko, "Kitayskaya Narodnaya Respublika -- suverennoye gosudarstvo" [People's Republic of China -- A Sovereign State], Kiev, 1959; P.F. Kirpenko, "Novyye puti Afganistana" [Afghanistan's New Paths], Kiev, 1983, and others.
3. See: G.N. Klimko, "The Contemporary Stage of the National-Liberation Struggle and the Non-Capitalist Path of Development of Young States" in EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY, No 8, 1969; Klimko, "Nekapitalisticheskoye razvitiye stran, osvobodivshikhsya ot kolonial'nogo gnetu" [The Non-Capitalist Development of Countries Liberated from Colonial Oppression], Kiev, 1970; Klimko, "Sushchnost' i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye osnovy nekapitalisticheskogo razvitiya molodykh gosudarstv, osvobodivshikhsya ot kolonial'nogo gnetu" [The Essence and Socioeconomic Foundations of the Non-Capitalist Development of Young States Liberated from Colonial Oppression], Doctoral Dissertation, Kiev, 1970.
4. A.V. Kulish, "The Role of the State Sector in Ceylon's Struggle for Economic Independence" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMIKI, Issue 3, Kiev, 1965; *ibid.*, "Rol' gosudarstvennogo sektora v bor'be molodykh suverennykh stran za ekonomicheskuyu nezavisimost' (na materialakh Indii, Tseylona, i Birmy)" [The State Sector's Role in the Struggle of Young



Sovereign States for Economic Independence (Based on Materials on India, Ceylon, and Burma)], Candidate's Dissertation, Kiev, 1966; Kulish, "Monopolies and the State in Liberated Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 19, 1967, and others.

5. I.F. Karpinskiy, "Economic Patterns of the Formation and Development of the State Sector in the Countries of the East" in "Tezisy konferentsii aspirantov i molodykh sotrudnikov" [Theses of the Conference of Graduate Students and Young Associates], Moscow, 1976; Karpinskiy, "Gosudarstvennyy sektor i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoye razvitiye osvobodivshikhsya stran (na materialakh stran Vostochnoy Afriki)" [The State Sector and the Socioeconomic Development of Liberated Countries (Based on Materials of the Countries of East Africa)], Candidate's Dissertation, Kiev, 1977; Karpinskiy, "On the Question of the Socioeconomic Nature of the State Sector of the Developing Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 141, 1979.
6. A.V. Kulish, "State Monopoly Enterprise in the Industry of Pakistan" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 9, 1965; I.F. Karpinskiy, "On the Question of the Relationship of the State and Foreign-Capital Sectors in the Socioeconomic Development of Countries Liberated from Colonial Oppression" in VESTNIK KIIYEVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, Issue 5, Kiev, 1977; G.N. Klimko, "On the Question of the State Sector of the Economies of the Liberated Countries" in VESTNIK KIIYEVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, Issue 15, 1979.
7. See: "Gosudarstvennyy sektor i sotsial'no-ekonomicheskyy progress v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [The State Sector and Socioeconomic Progress in the Developing Countries], Professor G.N. Klimko, editor, Kiev, 1980, p 37.
8. Ibid., p 168.
9. N.N. Kisel', "Razvitiye formatsionnoobrazuyushchego uklada i ego rol' v preobrazovanii sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoy struktury stran sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii (na materialakh stran Afriki i Blizhnego Vostoka)" [The Development of the Formational Structure and its Role in Transforming the Socioeconomic Structure of the Countries of Socialist Orientation (Based on Materials on the Countries of Africa and the Near East)], Candidate's Dissertation, Kiev, 1983.
10. See, for example: B.I. Kravchenko, "The Economic Policy of the States of Socialist Orientation" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 171, 1984.
11. R.L. Balakin, "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy razvitiya gosudarstvennogo planirovaniya ekonomiki v osvobodivshikhsya stranakh (na materialakh stran Zapadnoy Afriki)" [Socioeconomic Problems of the Development of State Planning of the Economy in Liberated Countries (Based on Materials on the Countries of West Africa)], Candidate's Dissertation, Kiev, 1980; Balakin, "Some Theoretical Problems of Planning in Liberated Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 147, 1979.

12. A.V. Kulish and A.V. Radchenko, "The Significance of the Marxist Theory of Reproduction in Analyzing the Economy of Developing Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 48, 1969; A.V. Radchenko, "Some Problems of Savings in Developing Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 46, 1969; A.A. Tkach, "The Contemporary Aspect of the Problem of Savings in Developing Countries" in VESTNIK KIIYEVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, Issue 77, 1976; I.F. Karpinskiy, "Scientific-Technical Progress and Problems of Savings in the State Sector of Developing Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 135, 1978.
13. See, for example: G.N. Klimko, "The Essence and Basic Directions of Increasing the State's Sector's Efficiency in the Economy of the Countries of Socialist Orientation in the Contemporary Stage of Aggravation of the General Crisis of Capitalism" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 171, 1984.
14. O.N. Soskin, "The Role of the Export Sector in the Economy of Developing Countries" in VESTNIK KIIYEVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, Issue 22, 1982; Soskin, "The Impact of the Export Sector on the Development of the System-Forming Structure in the Afro-Asian Oil-Exporting States" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 165, 1983.
15. G.N. Klimko, "On the Question of the Economic Position of the Burmese Countryside" in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 4, 1961; Klimko, "Agrarnyye problemy nezavisimoy Birmy" [Agrarian Problems of Independent Burma], Moscow, 1964 (also in Japanese: Tokyo, 1966), and others; A.G. Pukhkal, "Contradictions in the Development of Agricultural Cooperation in the Liberated Countries of Capitalist Orientation (Based on Materials on Tunisia)" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 153, 1981; N.N. Kisei', "Agricultural Cooperation of the Countries of Socialist Orientation -- A Major Factor in Strengthening the Socioeconomic Bases of Non-Capitalist Development" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 171, 1984; Ye.A. Adamskaya, "Paths of Transformation of Precapitalist Production Relations in the Agriculture of Developing Countries in the Process of Transition to Socialism" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 171, 1984.
16. A.I. Rogach, "Mixed Companies -- A New Form of Enterprise Activity by International Corporations in Developing Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 141, 1979; G.N. Klimko and A.I. Rogach, "Mixed Companies of International Corporations in Developing Countries" in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 2, 1982; A.I. Rogach, "The State Monopoly Character of the Neocolonial Expansion of International Corporations" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 171, 1984.
17. L.F. Nesterenko, "The State Monopoly Character of Exporting Capital to Liberated Countries (Based on Materials on the FRG)" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 153, 1981; Nesterenko, "The Increased Scientific-Technical Dependence of the Developing Countries in Contemporary Conditions" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 159, 1982.

18. A.V. Kulish, "Anti-Communism -- Neocolonialism's Ideological-Political Weapon" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 29, 1967; I.F. Karpinskiy, "Criticism of Bourgeois Conceptions of the Formation and Development of the State Sector of the Economy of Liberated Countries" in VOPROSY POLITICHESKOY EKONOMII, Issue 131, 1977; A.V. Kulish, "Kritika ideologii neokolonializma. Kritika burzhuaznykh ekonomicheskikh teoriy sovremennogo kapitalizma" [Criticism of the Ideology of Neocolonialism. Criticism of Bourgeois Economic Theories of Contemporary Capitalism], Kiev, 1982, and others.
19. G.N. Klimko, "V interesakh progressa i nezavisimosti. Ob ekonomicheskom sotrudnichestve stran sotsialisticheskogo sodruzhestva i molodykh gosudarstv sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii" [In the Interests of Progress and Independence. On Economic Cooperation of the Countries of the Socialist Community and the Young States of Socialist Orientation], Kiev, 1974; Klimko, "Mirovoy sotsializm i razvivayushchiyesya strany: problemy ekonomicheskogo sotrudnichestva" [World Socialism and the Developing Countries: Problems of Economic Cooperation], Kiev, 1980, and others.

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## SOVIET, FOREIGN AFRICANISTS HOLD SCIENTIFIC FORUM

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[Article by Yu.M. Il'in: "A Scientific Forum of Soviet Africanists"]

[Excerpts] The 4th All-Union Conference of Africanists, "Africa in the 1980's: Results and Prospects of Development," which was held in Moscow on 3-5 October 1984 and coincided with the 25th anniversary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Africa, was conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Problems of Africa and the Institute of Africa. More than 400 Africanists from 31 cities of the USSR -- Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Baku, Kishinev, Ashkhabad, and others -- and representatives of ministries and departments which conduct the political, economic scientific, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation of the USSR with the liberated countries of Africa took part in its work. Scientists of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia, African diplomats accredited in the USSR, and African graduate students and students studying in our country participated in the conference's work. Among the guests of the forum were the president of the the Academy of Sciences of Madagascar, Doctor S. Rabenuru; chairman of the Supreme Court chamber of Madagascar, G. Rabenuru; president of the International Congress of African Research and professor at Ibadan University (Nigeria), A. Ajai; director of the Institute of International Relations of Nigeria, Doctor G. Olusaniya; senior expert of the Secretariat of Nationalities of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers Party, F. Asfa; president of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, Doctor N. Davidson (Sierra Leone); director of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, Professor Ya. Tsesar; deputy director of the Institute of International Relations of the FRG Academy of State and Law, Professor R. Wunsch; deputy director of the Institute of World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, M. Shimay; and representatives of academic institutes and VUZes of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia.

Opening the conference, Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, defined its goal and tasks. Characterizing the activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Africa as the leading center of Soviet Africanist studies, P.N. Fedoseyev noted that the institute's



collective had conducted fundamental research in the fields of economics, sociology, history, law, and the theory and practice of international relations, published dozens of monographs, and in cooperation with other USSR Academy of Science institutions worked out a number of fundamentally new scientific conceptions -- the socialist orientation of liberated countries, the basic principles of the USSR's relations with the liberated countries of Africa, the development of the continent's production forces, planning in conditions of a multistructured economy, and solving the nationalities question in African countries. These conceptions are to serve as the theoretical base for developing Soviet-African relations and USSR policy directed at supporting regimes in the countries of socialist orientation and strengthening political and gaining economic independence for the states of Africa. Many positions of the institute's works are being realized in practice and the communist, revolutionary, and national-democratic parties of the developing countries use some of them in their activities. The task posed for Soviet social scientists by the party is to combine indepth, fundamental research with rapid introduction of its results into practice.

In recent years the situation on the continent has become more complicated, the African countries' contradictions with imperialism and neocolonialism have become more aggravated, and the close tie between development of the continent's countries and the global problems of contemporary times has been clearly identified. The activization of the African countries' struggle for economic emancipation, reorganization of international economic relations on a just democratic basis, and social progress is encountering increasing pressure from the capitalist West.

The imperialist states, and above all the United States, are striving to stop the world revolutionary process, aggravate crisis situations, and undermine and eliminate progressive regimes in developing countries. The cause of the present international tension in Africa is not the struggle of peoples of young states for their liberation but imperialism's attempts to suppress this movement. P.N. Fedoseyev characterized the tasks which face the country's social scientists, in particular Africanists -- from principled party positions to expose imperialism's aggressive course, especially in the developing countries zone, reveal the threat to peace and international security, and expose capitalism's predatory policy in this region. P.N. Fedoseyev emphasized that fixed attention must be devoted to new phenomena and processes in the social development of the African countries: the change in the socioeconomic structure of African societies; differentiation in ruling regimes; the aggravation of the political and ideological struggle on the question of paths of development, and so on. An especially important question is the role of the countries of Africa in preventing nuclear war and protecting peace. The danger the increase in and universal deployment of American nuclear weapons is creating for Africa, the enormous harm the arms race is doing to the countries of Africa, and opportunities for economic development which can be opened up by reducing the burden of military expenditures should be shown.

An.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Problems of Africa, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of

Africa, and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gave a report, "The Experience and Prospects of Research on the Problems of Africa."<sup>1</sup>

The following people delivered greetings to the conference and the Institute of Africa: Academician G.A. Arbatov (the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States and Canada); Professor V.F. Stanis (the University of Friendship of Peoples imeni P. Lumumba); Professor V.V. Vol'skiy (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Latin America); Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G.F. Kim (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies); Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences D.A. Ol'derogge (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography); Corresponding Member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences G.Kh. Sarkisyan (Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies); S. Rabenuru; Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar to the USSR, F. Randriamamundzi; N. Davidson; F. Asfa; Ya. Tsesar; A.S. Dzasokhov (Soviet Committee of Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa); Kh.U. Usarov (Samarkand); L.I. Shaydullina (Kazan); P.P. Nurmekund (Tartu); and D.P. Ursu (Odessa).

G.B. Starushenko, deputy director of the Institute of Africa and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, gave a report on the work of Soviet scientists and specialists on the second issue of the encyclopedic reference work "Afrika."

The further work of the conference took place in five sections. The main topic of discussion in the section "Economic Problems" (co-chairmen -- L.V. Goncharov and V.D. Shchetinin) -- the experience of the formative stage of the national economy and strategy of development of Africa -- was revealed in the following reports: L.V. Goncharov, "The Economy of the Liberated Countries of Africa and the Regional Development Strategy for the 1980's"; N.S. Babintseva (Leningrad State University), "State-Capitalist Trends in the Development of the African Economy"; G.V. Smirnov, "The Strategy of 'Basic Needs': Internal and External Aspects"; Yu.N. Cherkasov, "Criticism of Bourgeois Conceptions of the Economic Development of the Countries of Africa"; G.N. Klimko (Kiev State University), "Patterns of Change in the Socioeconomic Structure of the African Countries of Socialist Orientation"; M.M. Avsenev (ION [possibly Institute of Social Sciences] at the CPSU Central Committee), "The Formation of the National Economy in Conditions of Socialist Orientation"; A.S. Grigor'yev (Ivano-Frankovsk), "Economic Programs of Revolutionary Democrats and Their Realization in Certain Countries"; E.M. Fazel'yanov, "The Problem of the Reproduction of Labor Resources and the Struggle Against Unemployment"; and A.V. Nikiforov, "The Community and Economic Development in Contemporary Conditions".

Statements in the section and during debates dealt with such problems as the economic and political significance of the Lagos Plan of Actions, the struggle of the countries of Africa for a new international economic order (NIEO), inter-African economic cooperation, economic forms of neocolonialism and the struggle against transnational corporations (TNC's) in new conditions, the impact of the scientific-technical revolution (NTR) on Africa, Africa's place in the international division of labor, the economic positions of imperialist powers in Africa, and the role of industrial development in the struggle to eliminate economic independence, as well as the food program in Africa. The

reports and speeches noted that, on the one hand, certain successes have been achieved in African countries in building the national economy, which is reflected in its diversification, the creation of a number of sectors of light, and in certain countries, heavy industry, expanded work on incorporating natural resources, the nationalization of foreign enterprises in certain sectors of the national economy, creation and expansion of the state sector, and the introduction of planning. But, on the other hand, in recent years in many of the continent's countries a deteriorated economic situation and reduced national income per capita has been observed, a numerical increase in the group of least developed countries has been noted, the backward socioeconomic structure has been preserved, and economic dependence on developed capitalist countries and the negative effect of the African countries' economies' dependence on cyclical and structural crises of the world capitalist society has been intensifying. Attempts to overcome backwardness and insure the national economy's balanced development have had limited results as yet.

The disparity in results obtained is also characteristic of nationalization. The positive significance of nationalism is that it restricts imperialism's sphere of economic dominance and economic exploitation of the African countries and expands the state sector which is the foundation of an independent national economy. Nonetheless, as the reports of L.V. Goncharov, N.S. Babintseva, G.V. Smirnov, Yu.N. Cherkasov, and others noted, in some countries nationalization was premature; this led to a retarded economic growth rate, reduced revenue into the state budget, a reduction in the number of socioeconomic development programs, and a lower standard of living. As a result, denationalization of foreign enterprises and restoration of privileges and guarantees to foreign investors to encourage the influx of private foreign capital followed.

The participants in the debate subjected the recommendations of bourgeois economists in regard to ways and means to overcome economic and social backwardness to well-supported criticism.

The most important task facing the countries of socialist orientation today, those who gave reports noted, is the search for efficient methods of strengthening the national economy. With the passage of time the development strategy of the countries of socialist orientation is being refined on both the sociopolitical and economic levels under the influence of external and internal factors and the search for new, substantiated methods of development is beginning. The programs of revolutionary democrats have always considered industrialization the foundation for structurally transforming the economy and overcoming economic dependence on world capitalist centers. With concrete examples the speeches demonstrated that attempts to carry out a policy of forced industrialization led to increased disproportions and economic difficulties in a number of countries. That is why an adjustment of economic policy and its reorientation from industry to agriculture is needed.

While remaining a part of the world capitalist economy, the African countries moved the center of gravity of the liberation struggle to the sphere of socioeconomic transformations, which has naturally led to an expansion of the struggle to reorganize international economic relations on a democratic basis.



As the speeches of L.V. Goncharov, Yu.M. Osinov, and G.I. Rubinshteyn noted, the essence of the programs, worked out with active African participation, for establishing a new international economic order is a review of the entire system of inequitable relations which predominate in the world capitalist economy. Nonetheless, the changes which are taking place in reality are dictated by transnational corporations and do not conform to the tasks of progressive reorganization of international economic relations, noted V.D. Shchetinin. The U.S. administration, which enjoys the support of its Atlantic allies, persistently tries to establish new norms of international law which would limit the sovereignty of the developing countries in relations with foreign capital.

V.K. Vigand noted that increased economic difficulties, the lack of domestic financial resources, the decline in food production, and the slow rate of training national cadres force some countries to turn to the West with requests for increased aid. IBRD recommendations, for example, call for a cutback in the state sector, the dissemination of private capitalist relations, and uncontrolled access to the economy for TNC's.

Such questions as evaluating the conception of basic needs, opportunities for the countries of socialist orientation to restrict economic ties with the world capitalist economy, the nature of the state sector and the state structure in these countries, and the problems of industrialization in conditions of underdevelopment provoked a lively discussion in the section. Ye.A. Adamskaya, N.N. Kisel' (Kiev), G.V. Smirnov, M.M. Golanskiy, V.V. Lopatov, Khaydar Lamin (Mali), and others participating in the discussion made a number of comments on practical methods of overcoming the economic difficulties the African countries are experiencing.

In discussing practical work to overcome economic difficulties, those who spoke devoted special attention to the need to increase labor productivity, use such forms of economic policy as import substitution and export orientation in an original way, increase the efficiency of state financial policy and the importance of modernizing the traditional structure, take into account the experience of certain countries whose economic situation remains quite stable, and solve the problem of employment, which not only presupposes the creation of new work positions but also the training of the work force necessary to use them efficiently. The experience of the past decades, in the opinion of those participating in the discussion, attests to the impossibility of a radical solution to fundamental socioeconomic problems in conditions of dependent capitalism. Despite the acceleration of the processes of economic differentiation on the periphery of the world capitalist economy, no appreciable accumulation of the qualitative prerequisites needed to get out of the impasses of dependent development is taking place. A completely different path is needed. This is the path of implementing profound transformations in internal socioeconomic structures, opposing imperialism's neocolonial expansion, and combining the movement for a new international economic order with the struggle for peace and social progress.

The struggle for social progress in Africa and discussion of the problems of socialist orientation were the main topic of work in the section "Sociopolitical and Ideological Problems" (co-chairmen -- G.B. Starushenko and



L.D. Yablochkov). The following people gave reports: G.B. Starushenko, "Urgent Problems of the Struggle for Socialist Orientation"; A.N. Moseyko, "The Dissemination of the Ideas of Marxism-Leninism as a Factor of Social Progress"; N.D. Kosukhin, "The Experience of Party Building in the African Countries of Socialist Orientation"; L.D. Yablochkov, "Criticism of Bourgeois 'Sociology of Development' of Africa"; and M.I. Braginskiy, "The Working Class and Socialist Orientation in Africa." A broad range of problems was discussed: the trend toward change in the social structure of African societies; methods and features of disseminating Marxism-Leninism in individual countries and on the continent; the social policy of the states of socialist and capitalist directions of development; the ideological struggle on the question of paths of development; the social structure and paths of social progress; contemporary problems of socialist orientation; increasing the level of party and state leadership; criticism of non-Marxist ideological trends; and the religious factor in Africa's political life.

Those who spoke noted that in most African countries not one formation has reached maturity: the communal-tribe structure clashed with feudal-bourgeois colonization back in the last century and underwent organic changes but has been preserved up to the present moment and even been spiritually strengthened, at times representing a counterweight to the state structure. But this does not mean that the paths of social progress are determined by the social structure: both the country's class and political forces have a fundamental influence in determining these paths. The social structure is under the influence of internal and external economic, ideological, and political forces. During the discussion N. Yonkov, a representative from Bulgaria, pointed out the great importance of the subjective factor in the continent's political life. In particular, the influence of transnational corporations (the introduction of modern technology) impedes the formation of modern classes -- the bourgeoisie and the proletariat -- at the same time as the middle urban strata, especially the petty bourgeoisie and the substratum of paupers grow. Urbanization accumulates an excessive reserve of work force in the cities, where not only a rapid increase in population but an upsurge of rebellious sentiments is observed. The growth rate of cities exceeds the population growth rate by a factor of two. As I. Morton (Hungary) noted, the numbers of unemployed, paupers, and proles are increasing. Therefore, giving jobs to millions of seasonal migratory workers is one of the paramount tasks of the state while attracting this marginal mass of the population to its side is the task of political parties.

During the discussion of the essential features of socialist orientation and the question of the criteria of social progress of certain state-political forms it was noted that the basic patterns of social development defined by Marxist-Leninist theory are fully applicable in characterizing the revolutionary processes in Africa taking into account local economic, sociopolitical, and other factors. And the point is not "transferring European theory" to African soil. Scientific socialism establishes the most general parameters of class demarcation and social contradictions.

The speeches of K. Merdel (the GDR), Yu.G. Smertin (Krasnodar), Yu.G. Sumbatyan (Moscow) and others emphasized that although the objective conditions of most countries on the continent preclude the possibility of

socialist revolutions at this time, social revolutions are occurring in them in the form of national-democratic revolutions which in certain countries can develop into popular-democratic and socialist revolutions in the future if the subjective factor is present.

The section's work devoted a great deal of attention to discussing the problem of the revolutionary process in Ethiopia. It was emphasized that local and foreign reactionary forces have launched an ideological attack against radical socioeconomic transformations in the country. V.S. Boyko (the Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies) gave an analysis of bourgeois authors' works on Ethiopia. He demonstrated the bankruptcy of the liberal-bourgeois and left-radical schools which speculate on the difficulties of revolutionary-democratic development.

Further improvement of political leadership is needed in order for the countries which have joined the socialist path of development to overcome the difficulties. Speaking in the discussion, N.D. Kosukhin and A.N. Moseyko emphasized that only a vanguard party, which relies on the working class and is guided by progressive Marxist-Leninist theory, can be the most effective guiding force in conditions of Africa. K. Kalu (Ghana) pointed out the need for an alliance of communists and revolutionary democrats.

Some speeches were devoted to party building on the continent. It was noted in particular that party programs and statutes are somewhat ahead of actual events in a number of countries. In Ye.S. Sherr's opinion, in a number of cases the parties themselves can at the present time be considered only oriented to Marxism-Leninism, while the state is oriented to socialist transformations. In the future these parties can become Marxist-Leninist and proletarian parties but they must follow a difficult path (P.I. Manchka).

Attempts were made in the discussion to identify the essence of the fundamental transformations in African countries and the nature of revolutionary democracy and its ruling parties. The question of revolutionary democrats having their "own" petty bourgeois interests was critical (L.M. Entin, Moscow State Institute of International Relations; Yu.A. Yudin, USSR Academy of Sciences IGPR [expansion unknown]). Participants in the discussion came to the conclusion that the interests of most of the working population in African countries presently coincide in the struggle against foreign dominance. Only small groups of collaborators, usurers, tribal leaders, and reactionary religious figures stand outside.

Up to this point the religious factor has had an important place in the sociopolitical life of the countries of Africa. Islam remains one of the most widespread forms of social consciousness. Muslim reaction contributes to the anti-Soviet and anticommunist campaign (A.B. Podtserov, USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Recently the Christian church has been taking advantage of internal and external reaction to propagandize bourgeois ideology.

The unceasing imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of African states, the forcible attempts to change the results of the internal class struggle from without, and the policy of state terrorism the United States is conducting are focused on overthrowing existing state-political regimes and

greatly complicate the political struggle to emerge from colonial status. Attempts to impose bourgeois conceptions of development on Africans are well known among the methods of reactionary conditioning of the intelligentsia in liberated countries. At the present time, as was noted in the section, three important directions of Western Africanist sociology have been established. The first is the neocolonial direction which assumes that in principle Africa cannot be developed without transnational corporations. The second is the liberal-bourgeois direction which believes that independent development based on local private enterprise is the only thing possible. The third is the left-radical direction which proposes to break with the outside world, world capitalism, and world socialism and find a "third path" (L.D. Yablochkov). It is gratifying to note the increased number of African scientists who are subjecting Western theoreticians' recommendations to critical analysis and trying to analyze the situation in Africa from Marxist positions (I.V. Belikov, Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies).

The conception of "modernization" which rejects the class struggle and replaces it with the struggle for traditionalism is especially actively used in bourgeois propaganda. Among the tasks of "modernization" is the splitting of the forces of progress and stimulation of chauvinistic ideology (Ye.S. Troitskiy, the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee). Of course, traditional customs, the so-called "new" culture named by the West, has two sides -- the conservative and the stimulative sides. The whole point is how to use these elements.

Imperialist ideologists deny real socialism's positive influence on the development of backward countries and pit the national-liberation movement against the world worker movement. Thus, assertions of a special "Afro-communism," of the development of "Afro-Marxism," and of the formation of "Marxist nationalism" appear. "The struggle between poor and rich nations," which in essence masks the subversive activities of transnational corporations, has become the main slogan of the falsifiers.

A number of speeches were devoted to analyzing the significance of the rich experience of the socialist countries for the countries of Africa (Kh.U. Usarov, Samarkand; A.R. Yunusov, Fergana; B.A. Agaygel'diyev, Cherkessk).

The main topic of the work of the section "International Relations of the Countries of Africa" (co-chairmen -- V.I. Goncharov and Ye.A. Tarabrin) was the "Role and Place of Africa in Contemporary International Relations and in the Struggle for Peace." A broad range of questions was discussed: the importance of developing relations with the USSR and with other socialist countries; participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament; strengthening the solidarity of the African states with the developing countries of Asia and Latin America within the framework of the nonaligned movement; problems of unity and contradictions in inter-African relations and their reflection in OAE [Organization of African Unity] activities; the political situation in South Africa and its impact on inter-African relations; and distinguishing features of the present policy of the leading imperialist powers in Africa and its influence on the international relations of the continent's independent states.



Ye.A. Tarabrin's report, "Features of the International Relations of the Countries of Africa in the Contemporary Stage," emphasized that these relations are determined by the complex of internal problems of the African states and are simultaneously developed and modified under the influence of the international situation as a whole.

Those participating in the section noted that the common interests of the liberated countries of Africa are being maintained and continually manifested. As R. Wunsch (the GDR) emphasized, the need to oppose imperialism and its neocolonial strategy unites them. The aspiration to end economic exploitation by the West unites them. As Z.I. Tokareva noted, the growing awareness of the danger of a nuclear war and the need for the unity of all progressive forces in the struggle to preserve life on our planet act as the main unifying factors. African scientists spoke during the discussion of the questions raised in Ye.A. Tarabrin's report. Doctor G. Olusaniya noted that the peoples of Africa are aware of the catastrophic consequences which a nuclear war could have. In connection with this, the peoples of Africa support the struggle for universal peace and security. But at this time the problems of the struggle against hunger and drought and a number of other problems on whose solution the lives of millions of Africans now depend are exceptionally urgent for the countries of Africa in the present stage. F. Asfau (Ethiopia) held this point of view. V.V. Lopatov noted that these important problems can only be solved in conditions of peace and therefore the struggle to prevent a nuclear war is of paramount importance.

During the discussion of the questions of Soviet-African economic relations, special attention was focused on the fact that in evaluating the importance of assistance from the USSR to the countries of Africa, one must not be limited to its quantitative side only; it must be taken into account that this aid in many respects helps perform the most complex and vitally important tasks for them. In particular, emphasized Ye.A. Tarabrin, in order to solve the food problem in the countries of Africa, it is not enough to merely give aid to food suppliers; the development of agriculture proper, irrigation, and agricultural technology, which requires certain capital investments, is essential. But capital to give assistance to the countries of Africa can be found only when expenditures for the arms race are reduced, which the USSR has repeatedly proposed. It was noted during the debate that economic aid must be considered a supplementary factor in the development of the African states. But their own resources and efforts must be the basic sources.

Several speeches were devoted to the various aspects of present U.S. policy in Africa. Ya. Tsesar examined the policy conducted by the Reagan administration on the continent and demonstrated with concrete examples that back in the first year of its activity this administration had already made attempts, within the framework of a policy to check Soviet influence, to destabilize the progressive regimes in Africa and suppress the movement fighting on the continent for full independence. Ya. Tsesar analyzed Reagan's policy in South Africa, especially such an aspect of it as "constructive cooperation" with the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa. He emphasized that the United States is trying to prove to the entire world that Africa is in principle a place of confrontation of the interests of the United States and the USSR. The subordination of its African policy to the goals of global confrontation



with the USSR leads the American administration to an unobjective, biased evaluation of the continent's particular problems, as well as to strengthening its ties above all with an authoritarian regime.

Speaking at the joint meeting of the section "History, Culture, Ethnography, Literature, and Language" (co-chairmen -- USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member D.A. Ol'derogge and A.M. Vasil'yev) were: D.A. Ol'derogge, "Problems of Developing Africa's Culture in the 1980's"; A.M. Vasil'yev, "The Evolution of Egypt's Sociopolitical Structure in the 1970's-1980s"; A.B. Davidson and Yu.M. Il'in, "I.I. Potekhin, A.Z. Zusmanovich, S.R. Smirnov, and G.A. Nersesov as Historians and as People; Their Contribution to the Formation and Development of the International Scientific Cooperation of Soviet Africanists"; and L.I. Medvedko, "The Role of Armies in the Political Life of African Countries."

D.A. Ol'derogge noted the extreme importance of studying the history of Africa's peoples, especially in light of the gradual surmounting of ideas of the primitive state of African peoples which has been taking place in the last decade and Eurocentrism in the approach to dividing the continent's history into periods. The problem of tribalism, which was overly exaggerated during colonial dominance, is also being examined in a new way. At that time the social order of the peoples of Africa was described in such a way to justify the necessity of colonial dominance, noted the speaker. As the social order of the peoples of Africa is studied, both the vagueness of the concept "tribe" and the complexity of the history of the formation of certain tribes and peoples become clear. Cases of artificial creation of a "tribe" were not rare and many nonexistent formations of a "tribal" nature, such as Vanick and the like, appeared on ethnic maps of Africa. In evaluating the achievements of contemporary African Studies, D.A. Ol'derogge emphasized the contribution of African scientists in the study of the continent, the great importance of the research of archeologists and the introduction of chronometric methods into the methodology of their work, and the cooperation of scientists of different specializations (archeologists, physicists, chemists, and other specialists) which made it possible to establish the basic stages of development of the history of the culture and which showed the history of Africa in a new light.

"Problems of the History of African Society in Modern and Recent Times" was the topic of the first subsection (leader -- A.B. Letnev); its work was devoted to study of the evolution of the socioeconomic and political structure of the countries of Africa in modern and recent times and features of the formation of national historical schools in the countries of Africa, criticism of bourgeois conceptions of the historical development of the African peoples, and a comparative analysis of the historical process in countries with different sociopolitical orientations.

A large number of speeches were devoted to problems of a methodological nature; this was reflected, in particular, in the series of historiographic and source study comments. A. Adzhau (Nigeria) talked about work on the eight-volume "Universal History of Africa" on the international UNESCO project; he is the accountable editor of the 6th volume. The subsection devoted attention to agrarian problems and the structural nature of socioeconomic relations, as well as the legal institutions of colonial and

post-colonial societies. Questions of the national-liberation movement and the role of the popular masses in anticolonial and anti-imperialist demonstrations were discussed.

The work of the section "Geography and the Deployment of Production Forces" (co-chairmen -- M.B. Gornung and Yu.I. Zelenskiy) was devoted to the present ecology-resource situation in Africa and its impact on the development of production forces and other socioeconomic problems of the continent. Those who gave reports were: M.B. Gornung (USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography), "The Present Economic-Resource Situation in Africa and its Impact on the Continent's Socioeconomic Problems"; and Yu.I. Zelenskiy, "The Contemporary Development of Production Forces in Africa." The section's work focused primarily on the following problems: the ecology-resource situation taking shape in contemporary Africa and projected for the next 20-25 years; the impact of ecology-resource and natural-raw material factors on socioeconomic development; evaluating the problem of deploying production forces and reorganizing the territorial structure of the economy and securing its infrastructure, transportation in particular; and the demographic situation and features of urbanization in Africa. Special attention was given to the increasing need for foodstuffs -- the deterioration of the natural basis of food production, various aspects of agriculture, and fuel resources of plant origin.

An.A. Gromyko summarized the results of the conference. He pointed out the ever-increasing interest in the USSR in studying current African problems, which is illustrated by the broad representation of scientists from the Union republics in the conference's work and the consolidation of scientific contacts among the Africanists of our country and the socialist states.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. See the article by An.A. Gromyko: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 1, 1985, pp 3-12.

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## ROLES OF CENTRAL, REPUBLIC ORIENTALIST INSTITUTES DESIGNATED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 147-149

[Report by L.B. Alayev, S.N. Serebrov, O.V. Rummyantseva, V.V. Yevsyukov, S.A. Komissarov, and L.A. Lelekov under the rubric "Scientific Life": "Moscow -- All-Union Association of Orientalists"]

[Excerpts] An expanded meeting of the Presidium of the All-Union Association of Orientalists (VAV) was held jointly with the bureau of the Scientific Council on Cooperation in Orientalist Research on 14 November 1984. The question of studying the contemporary problems of the countries of Asia and Africa in the scientific centers of Union and autonomous republics (except Moscow) was discussed. Academician Ye. M. Primakov, VAV chairman, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, and chairman of the Scientific Council on Coordinating Orientalist Research, gave a report. He noted that studying the policies and economies of neighboring countries in periphery centers, in the republics of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia and in the Far East in particular, is essential and fruitful. It is precisely in these centers that studying the position of related or single-nation groups who live beyond the borders of the USSR and conducting counterpropaganda against imperialism's attempts to undermine the unity of the Soviet people are most expedient. Moreover, it is impossible to study contemporary times without a historical analysis and knowledge of traditions, and in this regard the Orientalists of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia are making an invaluable contribution to studying new processes in the East. Ye.M. Primakov emphasized that the development of research on contemporary times must not diminish the significance of traditional research and in this connection mentioned the scientific centers of Leningrad, Tashkent, Dushanbe, and Tartu.

The Institutes of Oriental Studies of the Academies of Sciences of the Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijan, Tajik, and Uzbek SSR's and the Department of Oriental Studies of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences have already now prepared a number of studies on the sociopolitical situation of modern Turkey, the struggle of various trends of development in the Arab countries, new phenomena in post-revolutionary Iran, and U.S. policy in this region. Considerable attention is being devoted to studying the situation of ethnic groups, the related Soviet peoples of Trans-Caucasia and Central Asia and outside the borders of the USSR. Criticism of the unfounded ideas of certain Chinese scientists regarding the history of people surrounding China and the

question of China's historical borders also occupies an important place in the activity of the Orientalists of Central Asia. Authoritative scientific centers have been created in Khabarovsk and Vladivostok. They specialize in questions of the history and contemporary situation in countries of the Far East. Orientalists of the Ukrainian SSR Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries are doing a great deal of work. In connection with this, a number of problems which VAV can make a certain contribution toward are arising; this concerns the topical specialization of the centers in particular. And the following should be taken into account: 1) the practical significance of the problems under study for the corresponding republic or region; 2) the presence of cadres; 3) the information base; 4) scientific traditions and schools in the field of traditional Oriental studies which could take part in solving contemporary problems or counterpropaganda tasks. An all-Union conference on questions of the specialization of Oriental studies scientific centers must be conducted. Departments and institutes which study the contemporary problems of the East will be under the full administrative control of the appropriate academy of sciences, but as the leading Orientalist institution the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies must supply guidance. This will make it possible to organize a real transfer of experience accumulated in the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies on studying the contemporary East and will facilitate organizational measures -- extended work trips of scientists from the periphery to Moscow and from Moscow to the periphery, broadening of the institution of apprenticeship, organization of schools for improving skills, information service, and so forth. Scientists from our country's scientific centers must be more actively recruited in writing collective monographs planned by the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies and in doing joint projects.

VAV deputy chairman L.B. Alayev talked about the VAV apparat's work in the last 2 years. He reported, among other things, that a report memorandum was prepared on problems of improving the teaching of the history and culture of countries of the East on all levels -- from general education schools to Oriental studies departments at the universities. VAV has made a proposal to establish a Medal imeni Academician S.F. Ol'denburg for outstanding work in the field of Oriental studies. A manual "Oriental Studies Centers of Foreign Countries" has been published under the aegis of the association. It is now proposed to publish a revised and supplementary edition of the manual in a larger edition. In October 1984 the association conducted (jointly with the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee and the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies Council of Young Scientists) the 3rd All-Union Training Session of Young Orientalists. In December of this year an All-Union Conference "Contemporary Historiography of the National-Liberation Movement" is planned. L.B. Alayev reported that by November 1984 VAV had 11 departments, 7 groups, and 27 collective and about 1,100 individual members. Opportunities to expand and strengthen the organization are far from exhausted.

The deputy chairman of the Scientific Council on Coordinating Orientalist Research, Yu.V. Gankovskiy, reported on progress in fulfilling the cumulative plan for 1986-1990. The following people made reports on the activities of Orientalist scientific centers: Corresponding Member of the Armenian SSR AN [Academy of Sciences] G.Kh. Sarkisyan (Armenian SSR AN Institute of Oriental



Studies); Corresponding Member of the USSR AN A.I. Krushanov (USSR AN Far Eastern Scientific Center Institute of History, Archeology, and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far East); the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR AN Bureau of the Scientific Section of Oriental Studies, R.P. Neymantas; Yu.A. Ponomarev (Uzbek SSR AN Institute of Oriental Studies); and G.A. Kovaleva (Institute of Economic Research, Khabarovsk). The speakers noted the need for closer cooperation among Orientalists of the central and peripheral centers, the conduct of joint work, exchange of experience, and so forth. G.A. Kovaleva emphasized that in Khabarovsk they look forward to the creative help of the leading Orientalist economists, consultations and to joint work. R.P. Neymantas reported that Lithuanian Orientalists need the assistance of specialists in introducing many hundreds of manuscripts in Eastern languages into scientific circulation and in training cadres of translators from Eastern languages. He expressed gratitude to the VAV Presidium which had supported the idea of creating the Museum of Eastern Cultures in Lithuania.

A.I. Krushanov reported that a decision has been made to create an Institute of Economic and Political Problems of the Countries of the Pacific Ocean Basin which will be the center for Orientalists in the Far East.

The chief of the sector of history of the non-Soviet East of the Institute of History imeni Sh. Batyrov of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic and chairman of the VAV Turkmen Group, Kh.A. Atayev, pointed out the need to create an Orientalist center in Turkmenistan.

The director of the Azerbaijan SSR AN Institute of Oriental Studies and chairman of the VAV Azerbaijan Department, Azerbaijan SSR AN Academician Z.M. Buniyatov and others talked of the need to reorganize scientific programs at university Eastern departments so that they not only graduate philologists but regional geographers who specialize in political, economic, and historical problems as well. Corresponding Member of the Tajik SSR AN I.S. Braginskiy, R.P. Neymantas, L.I. Shaydullina (Kazan State University), and others noted the importance of disseminating Eastern studies in peripheral centers and the need to conduct anti-imperialist and atheist propaganda and counterpropaganda.

The question of preparing information materials on the contemporary East for peripheral centers was discussed. A.N. Kulik (AN Institute of Oriental Studies) talked of the plan for automating the information system developed by the USSR AN Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences. In a few years the system will be able to encompass all the main scientific centers of the country and in many respects solve the problem of information support for studying contemporary problems.

A.P. Baziants (AN Institute of Oriental Studies) reported on a collection of information materials being prepared, "The Country's New Oriental Studies Centers." S.N. Serebrov (AN Institute of Oriental Studies) talked about the 3rd Training Session of Young Orientalists.

G.F. Kim, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, deputy director of the USSR AN Institute of Oriental Studies, and VAV deputy chairman, noted that the preparation of the "Encyclopedia of Asia (Non-Soviet Countries)" and the multivolume "History of the Countries of the East" is one

of the forms of cooperation among Orientalists of different centers. He announced the creation of the Sector of General Problems of the History of the East under the leadership of K.Z. Ashrafyan at the USSR AN Institute of Oriental Studies. The sector's main task is to coordinate the efforts of historians who work in different departments of the USSR AN Institute of Oriental Studies and in other institutes on a large, scientifically and politically important project of preparing the fundamental "History of the Countries of the East."

In his closing words, Ye.M. Primakov supported the proposals expressed to organize and creatively strengthen Oriental studies in all centers.

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### THIRD ALL-UNION TRAINING SESSION FOR YOUNG ORIENTALISTS HELD

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 149-151

[Report by L.B. Alayev, S.N. Serebrov, O.V. Rumyantseva, V.V. Yevsyukov, S.A. Komissarov, and L.A. Lelekov under the rubric "Scientific Life": "3rd All-Union Training Session for Young Orientalists"]

[Excerpts] In October 1984 the 3rd All-Union Training Session for Young Orientalists "Urgent Problems of Oriental Studies" was held in Zvenigorod; 143 young scientists from 36 scientific and educational Orientalist centers of the Soviet Union participated. The session faced the following tasks: assisting young scientists in mastering Marxist-Leninist methodology of scientific analysis and improving the skills of its creative application; expanding and deepening the special knowledge of young scientists and increasing their professional level; and deepening creative ties between scientists and the country's scientific organizations.

Preparation for the session was supervised by an organizing committee (chairman -- USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Corresponding Member G.F. Kim). A commission under the leadership of Yu.V. Gankovskiy worked out the plan for the session's scientific program. The USSR AN Institute of Oriental Studies carried out a number of measures aimed at increasing the training session's work efficiency; in particular, V.G. Rastyannikov gave a series of lectures on the subject "Basic Conceptions of the Socioeconomic Development of Liberated Countries in Soviet Science." A collection of abstracts of reports (in four volumes) was published, including more than 320 works devoted to a broad range of problems of Marxist Oriental studies.

For the first time in the practice of the training session for young Orientalists, lectures on important urgent problems of Oriental studies were included in the program of the plenary meeting. In the lecture "The Role and Place of the Developing Countries in the World Capitalist Economy," G.K. Shirokov described the most fundamental features of the inclusion of the economies of the developing countries in the system of world economic ties. An analysis of these features, in the speaker's opinion, makes it possible to assume that the expected cyclical upsurge in the economies of the developed capitalist states following the world crises of the mid-1970's and early 1980's cannot have an adequate stimulative effect on the economy of the developing countries.

In his speech "Marxist-Leninist Methodology of Analyzing Social Processes and Oriental Studies," N.A. Simoniya noted that Western Orientalists recently have been more frequently turning to the scientific legacy of Marxism to analyze processes occurring in the Afro-Asian world. N.A. Simoniya characterized the essence and features of the present stage of development of capitalism and of the developing countries.

In the lecture "Trends of Language Development in the Contemporary East," L.B. Nikol'skiy demonstrated that language development is directed toward changing "language nationalism" and is accompanied by the increased importance of local, indigenous languages. In connection with this, socially and politically urgent problems such as the linguistic consequences of colonialism, language problems in multinational countries, and others are beginning to play the dominant role in applied linguistics.

The seminar on the topic "Traditions and Contemporary Times in the Social Development of the Countries of the East" conducted by V.L. Sheynis aroused a great deal of interest. V.L. Sheynis turned to the analysis of the major historical-cultural features of the development of the West and the East and emphasized the complex and contradictory result of the interaction of traditions and contemporary times. He noted the inaccuracy of ideas that the new must supplant the old. The formation of synthesized, symbiotic, and hybrid forms in which the old and the new acquire unique features is more characteristic. V.L. Sheynis cited the Islamic revolution in Iran and events in Campuchea in 1975-1979 as examples of this interaction.

Another seminar conducted by L.I. Reysner was devoted to examining the conception of the collective labor of scientists of the USSR AN Institute of World Economics and International Relations, "The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress" (Moscow, 1984). The leader of the seminar pointed out the novelty and constructive nature of many approaches the book contains to evaluating processes which take place in the economic, social, and sociocultural development of liberated countries in the current phase. In particular, he emphasized the great scientific importance of the typology of the developing countries contained in the book which takes into account differences in the sizes of the states of the developing world, and the constructive character (though also inadequacy) of using the human individual as the criterion of social progress. L.I. Reysner's proposal to use the category "historical basis" in Orientalist research provoked an animated debate.

The work of the training session took place in sections: socioeconomic problems; politics and international relations; linguistics; literary studies; source study and subsidiary historical disciplines; ancient and medieval history; and ideology and cultural studies.

S.A. Byliniyak and V.A. Yashkin supervised the work of the section on socioeconomic problems of the countries of the East. Polemicizing with G.K. Shirokov, S.A. Byliniyak noted the objective increase in internationalization of the world economy. In his opinion, the rejuvenation of the economies of the developing countries and an increase in their rates of economic growth



should be expected in the near future. Both points of view contained in the reports were discussed. Moreover, the problems of structural advances in the economies of the developing countries and the problem of exporting capital to them were examined. Most of the participants supported V.A. Yashkin's point of view, according to which these advances are based on the general dialectics of the world capitalist economy.

Fifteen reports were heard at meetings of the section on politics and international relations in the Afro-Asian region (leader -- V.I. Maksimenko). The communications devoted to analyzing such urgent political problems as increased militarism in countries of the East under the influence of Washington's adventurist plans, the reciprocal influence of ideology and politics on the example of certain Arab states, and the impact of traditional institutions on party-political structures in the East, as well as progress in the domestic political situation in certain states of Asia, aroused the most interest.

The leaders of the section on ideology and cultural studies spoke at its meetings: V.G. Khoros, "Some Methodological Problems of Studying the Ideological Situation in Contemporary Developing Countries"; and B.S. Yerasov, "Cultural Studies' Place in the Study of Contemporary Developing Countries." V.G. Khoros traced the evolution of the ideological trends which were conceived at the moment of the greatest upsurge of forces of national liberation and have been preserved to the present time, when many of them have been converted into the dominant ideology in society. The main emphasis in the second lecture was on examining culture from the standpoint of its influence on the social life of the countries of the East as one of the decisive components of their national self-determination. In addition, questions of combining traditions and modernity in certain ideological trends; problems of the relations of culture, politics, ideology, and religion; problems of mass culture; and problems of analyzing the political culture of a number of the states of Southeast Asia were discussed at the meetings. In all 17 reports were heard.

The results of the 3rd All-Union Training Session of Young Orientalists were summarized at the final meeting.

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## CONFERENCE ON FOREIGN LANGUAGE SOCIAL SCIENCE PUBLICATIONS

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 151-153

[Report by L.B. Alayev, S.N. Serebrov, O.V. Rumyantseva, V.V. Yevsyukov, S.A. Komissarov, and L.A. Lelekov under the rubric "Scientific Life": "The Journal OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI I SOVREMENNOST"]

[Text] A meeting of the Editorial Council of the editorial office of the journal OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI I SOVREMENNOST' [SOCIAL SCIENCES AND CONTEMPORARY TIMES] devoted to its 20th anniversary was held on 28 March 1984. The editorial office's publications -- journals and 11 series of topical collections -- are published in 6 foreign and Russian languages and distributed in 130 countries.

Academician P.N. Fedoseyev, chairman of the council and vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted that in a short period of time the editorial office has become well known abroad as a center for training Soviet social scientists in foreign languages. The steadily expanding dispersion of these scientists is the primary evidence of the increasing prestige and influence of Marxist-Leninist methodology for social science research in the world scientific community.

The editorial office is making a worthy contribution to performing the tasks posed by the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Plenums of the party Central Committee in the field of propagandizing the achievements of real socialism abroad, the meeting emphasized. Presentation of scientific development of questions of refining developed socialism and of the struggle of the CPSU and the Soviet State to prevent nuclear war and preserve and consolidate peace is of particular importance.

The speakers at the meeting analyzed the work of the editorial office and its main subdivisions. The following people spoke: S.L. Tikhvinskiy, the academician-secretary of the USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Department of History; Academician Yu.V. Bromley, director of the Institute of Ethnography imeni N.N. Miklukho-Makaya; USSR AN Corresponding Member V.A. Vinogradov, director of the Institute of Information on Social Sciences; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee; USSR AN Corresponding Member I.T. Frolov, chairman of the Council on the Comprehensive Problem of "Philosophical

and Social Problems of Science and Technology"; and Professor Kh.N. Momdzhyan, president of the Soviet Sociological Association.

The quarterly OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI [THE SOCIAL SCIENCES] in foreign languages is mainly distributed in capitalist and developing countries. Articles devoted to one of the fundamental problems of the social sciences determine the appearance of each issue of the journal. Among its main rubrics are "Problems of War and Peace," "The Developing Countries: New Research," "Debates and Discussions," "Criticism and Commentary," "Man and Nature," and "Youth and Society." The journal, which is published in English, French, German, Spanish, and Portuguese, is reprinted in India (in Bengali), Greece (in New Greek), Japan (in Japanese), and in other countries.

Questions of the theory and practice of developed socialism, strengthening the world socialist system, and the struggle of ideas in the contemporary world are widely covered in the quarterly OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian. This publication is oriented to readers in the socialist countries. Problems of the methodology of Marxist-Leninist social knowledge and the integrative processes in contemporary science occupy an important place in it.

Topical collections also enjoy great popularity among foreign readers. More than 600 publications have been published during the time that the editorial office has been in existence. The collections are prepared in collaboration with humanist institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The "Razvivayushchiyesya strany" [Developing Countries] series was created in 1980 for the purpose of acquainting foreign readers with the opinions of Soviet specialists on urgent problems of states freed from colonial dependence. Soviet scientists analyze the economic, social, and political problems of liberated countries, the future of their development, and their role in world politics on the pages of the collections of this series. Collections to be published in this series in 1985 are "Cooperation of the USSR with the Developing Countries" and "Nonalignment: Its Friends and Enemies in World Politics."

The "Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye" [Soviet Oriental Studies] series originated in 1980. In the publications of this series, under the general editorship of Ye.M. Primakov, attention is focused on studying the contemporary problems of the countries of the East and their role in the system of international relations. The classical sectors of Russian and Eastern social sciences which have generally-acknowledged traditions are also presented. The following collections came out in this series: "The Contemporary Development of Arab Countries"; "Southeast Asia: History and the Present"; "The Palestinian Problem: Aggression, Opposition, and Paths of Solution," and others.

Collections of the series "Afrika: issledovaniya sovetskikh uchenykh" [Africa: Research of Soviet Scientists] acquaint readers with urgent problems of the economic, sociopolitical, and ideological development of the countries of Africa and with the place and role of the African countries in the system of international relations. This series has been published by the USSR AN Institute of Africa in collaboration with the editorial office of OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI I SOVREMENNOST since 1980. USSR AN Corresponding Member An.A. Gromyko, director of the USSR AN Institute of Africa, heads the

series' editorial collegium. The series has included the collections "The USSR and Africa," "The Ideology of African Democracy," An. Gromyko's "Africa Today: Progress, Difficulties, and Prospects," and others. USSR AN Corresponding Member I.R. Grigulevich, the main editor of the editorial office and deputy chairman of the council, discussed the office's plans.

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## BOOK ON RELIGION, SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA REVIEWED

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, Apr-Jun 85 pp 207-210

[Review by A.N. Kochetov of the collection of articles "Religiya i obshchestvennaya zhizn' v Indii" [Religion and Social Life in India], responsible editors A.D. Litman and R.B. Rybakov, Moscow, Glav. red. vost. lit-ry Nauka, 1983, number of copies not given, 295 pages]

[Text] The start of the 1980's was marked by the appearance of a number of fundamental works devoted to India's social and ideological problems. Topical collections and collective monographs which examine important questions of social development are more and more frequently devoting sections and chapters to Indian themes.<sup>2</sup> Most of these works deal with religion to one degree or another. Nonetheless, one must not fail to recognize that these problems are not adequately covered in our literature. At the same time, certainly, one can name no other country in which religion's role in the formation of culture, in the substantiation of political views and positions, in social processes, and in the sphere of direct human intercourse is so substantial, even up to the present time, as in India. But the unabating religious-community conflicts and the flare-ups of hostility and hatred kindled by religious fanatics accompanied by the disruption of social order, mass pogroms, and murders are the most convincing argument for the need for an indepth and genuinely scientific study of the religious situation in India, in the first place its place and role in the contemporary ideological and internal political struggle, on whose outcome the destiny of this country depends to a significant degree.

The interest of our country's broad reading masses in religious and religious-philosophical studies may be called traditional. Unfortunately, this interest has been satisfied and is satisfied not only through the research of a comparatively small, very strong group of Russian and Soviet Indianists who have created their own school of Indian studies nor only through translations of books by reputable Western authors, but also by works that are far from scientific. It is for precisely this reason that the collection under review prepared by the USSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Institute of Oriental Studies Department of India and Southern Asia should be evaluated highly. Unlike a number of earlier publications of similar specialization, it is characterized by integrity of content and a consistent orientation to the present. The complex and very acute problem of the disintegrative role of

polyconfessionalism [multiple faiths] in the present stage of development of Indian society is the subject of the study. All the articles are organically related to one another; because of this the reader gets a complete picture of the present condition of India's social life. Let us also note that to a significant extent the book is written on the basis of voluminous material from Indian and Western European sources, much of which is being put into scientific circulation for the first time.

An article by A.D. Litman devoted to the worldview aspects of secularism in India opens the collection. The title of this article may perhaps narrow its content somewhat. It examines the basic problems of contemporary Indian secularism thoroughly and comprehensively. The author notes that the "conceptual, ideological-theoretical structure of secularism is still very loose and amorphous -- an integral, strictly logically consistent, and well-documented theory of secularism has not been developed yet" (p 14). It seems that it would too optimistic to expect that such a theory can be developed at all. Ways to implement secularization, that is, to free various spheres of vital activity of society and individual consciousness from religious influence, are too varied and dependent on particular sociohistorical conditions. After all, this means at the same time the process of depriving religious institutions of social functions, reducing the sphere of operation of cultural practices, and in certain conditions (during the bourgeois revolutions in a number of European states, for example) confiscating monetary means and land from church ownership as well.

For a number of reasons the processes of secularization in India have their own, strictly specific features. It is a matter first and foremost of achieving a status for religious organizations which would not interfere with the integration processes: to a significant degree the success of the government's positive policy directed at performing internal and external tasks depends on the level of these processes. This means it is not even a matter of secularization, but the policy of secularism. This term has not yet been included in any explanatory dictionary although it is extensively used in contemporary literature, signifying an important political phenomenon.

A.D. Litman defines secularism in India as the policy of the ruling circles directed at representing religion as something which relies on the law of status, which would make it impossible to use religion for antinational purposes but not infringe upon the religious sentiments of believers and not hinder performance of typical functions by servants of the cult. "This policy -- officially proclaimed and fixed in the country's constitution -- is secularism; it is considered a reservoir of those ideas and approaches to the problems of religion and religious-community relations which best fit the particular conditions of contemporary Indian activity and the tasks of the country's socioeconomic progress" (p 13).

Actual implementation of secularism in conditions of the Indian population's high level of religiosity, complicated by the presence of many ethnic and caste differences, encounters many difficulties. Reactionary forces commonly resort to covering their antidemocratic ideas with religious slogans and religious symbols. For most extremist groups in the population, religious exclusiveness is increased by the unsubstantiated identification of secularism

with atheism, the fear of which often overpowers fear of the tragic consequences of strife among the communities.

A.D. Litman does not restrict himself to analyzing the ideological sources of secularism, its organic tie with the national-liberation movement, and the attitude of parties which determine India's present policy toward it. He emphasizes the basic features of secularism: its hostility toward chauvinism and separatism and the demand for absolute noninterference by the state in affairs of religion, which is acknowledged to have the right to remain the guiding principle only in a man's private life (p 41). All this makes secularism the only possible form of policy able to help integrate the nation and achieve social progress. Very informative pages are devoted to secularism's place in the views and political programs of M. Gandhi and J. Nehru; the relationship of secularism to culture, democracy, socialism, and the Indian CP's position in regard to secularism are also examined.

K.Z. Ashrafyan's article, which analyzes the basic aspects of the ideology and practices of Indian communalism, has some points in common with A.D. Litman's article. The tie between these two works is organic, inasmuch as the cutting edge of secularism is directed against communalism, that is, against separateness which frequently passes into hostility based on the religious communities of groups of India's population. K.Z. Ashrafyan defines communalism as a "phenomenon of the sociopolitical life of a polyconfessional society, characterized by inadequate development of the basic classes of contemporary bourgeois society; a phenomenon based on the idea of the supposed common national, economic, social, and political tasks of all members of this religious community, associated with chauvinist (in the community of the majority) or with narrow bourgeois-nationalist (in communities of religious minorities) trends which actively utilize conservative and reactionary elements" (p 64). Using broad and diverse material the author demonstrates the serious consequences of the disintegrating influence of communalism and the presence of a resemblance to castism which, despite the abolishment of the law of caste privileges and disparities, is still quite strong. The conceptions of the main ideologists of communalism, the political role of the Union of Volunteer Services to the Motherland ("Rashtriya svayamsevak sangh" -- RSS), and communal trends in the behavior of the Muslims and Sikhs are examined in detail. Progressive political figures' criticism of communalism and the struggle of the communist party and other leftist and democratic forces of India against the ideology and practices of communalism and to establish a secular democracy are covered.

The works of B.I. Klyuyev, G.M. Grigor'yeva, and N.G. Prussakov, devoted respectively to: a detailed analysis of the major ideological trends and social processes in the Sikh community; the extremely complex correlation of the religious beliefs and politics of the numerically small peoples who live in the northeastern part of the republic (Naga, Mizo, Kkhasi, Tipera, Magkh, Rieng, Garo, and others), which situation is aggravated by the presence of large communities of Assamese and Bengalis in the region; and, finally, the role of Aligarh Muslim University in the political struggle in contemporary India follow the lead articles and are closely linked to them in their fundamental propositions.



Many of the problems examined in these articles are being reflected in Soviet literature for the first time. Characteristic of them is the successful combination of looks at history and treatment of the present disposition of social forces. The pages in B.I. Klyuyev's article which discuss the movement of the Nirankars -- a unique reforming direction in Sikhism which we have not yet written about -- are exceptionally interesting.

The subjects of O.V. Mezentsevaya's article on Hinduism's place and role in the ideology of the Bhudan movement and B.I. Klyuyev's article on the Indian holiday "kumbha mela" are more specific questions. Nonetheless, their internal tie with the main theme of the collection is unquestionable. Moreover, they are completely relevant in the book's context since its major conceptual positions are translated into the language of clear, impressive facts which give a visible, emotionally-colored concreteness to social phenomena and processes. O.V. Mezentseva thoroughly examines the interpretation of the major norms and principles of Hinduism in studying one of the most prominent contemporaries of M. Gandhi and J. Nehru -- Achari Vinoby Bhawe, an advocate of a "change in hearts" as a way to build a "society of universal prosperity," a proponent of equal rights for all religions in achieving "truth," and one of the main ideologists of the movement to have landowners hand over part of their land to landless peasants for nothing -- the Bhudan movement.

B.I. Klyuyev, in contrast, focuses the reader's attention on the durability of Hindu traditions of honoring holy places and the broad masses' participating in religious holidays, which frequently fosters the most extreme forms of religious fanaticism. The traditional holiday "kumbha mela," for which millions of pilgrims and tens of thousands of preachers, heads of monasteries and cathedrals, and leaders of sects and monastic orders come together, is the focal point of the article. In discussing the conduct of "kumbha mela" in the Allahabad region in 1977, the author writes: "This was a campaign of direct influence on the believers which has no equal in scope and reproduction of religious sentiments through personal contacts in an emotionally-saturated atmosphere" (p 249).

The two articles which conclude the collection -- S.I. Potabenko on the biblical theme in contemporary Indian graphic art and N.R. Gusevoy on Hinduism's role in forming ethnoreligious forms of popular theater and dance stand somewhat apart from the body of the book since they are devoted to particular questions of Indian art, though also in the context of the influence of Christianity and Hinduism on this art.

I would hope that the trend toward the comprehensive study of problems related to questions of religion in India which is manifested in the collection does not diminish. There is a great deal of work to be done in this direction. It should be acknowledged, for example, that a number of religious systems which exist in India, including those like Parseeism, Christianity, Jainism, and Buddhism, which is being revived, have almost not been dealt with at all or dealt with inadequately on the sociological and ideological level in Soviet scientific literature. A rather modest amount of literature has been devoted even to Hinduism -- the religion of the overwhelming majority of the country's



population, while Hinduism's role in present-day India has not been specially examined in a single fundamental work.

The importance of religion in the contemporary struggle of ideas and in social processes and politics is by no means exhausted. On the contrary, as the events of the last decade show, religious slogans are being actively used by the forces of reaction more and more frequently, on the one hand, and no less actively used in the struggle for social progress, on the other. Questions of the religious situation during a national-liberation struggle and during the selection of paths of further development of young independent states are particularly complex.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A.A. Kutsenkov, "Evolyutsiya indiyaskoy kasty" [The Evolution of the Indian Caste], Moscow, 1983; A.M. Goryacheva, "Naseleniye i ekonomicheskiy rost v Indii" [The Population and Economic Growth in India], Moscow, 1983; V.S. Kostyuchenko, "Klassicheskaya vedanta i neovedantizm" [Classical Vedanta and Neo-Vedantism], Moscow, 1983; A.D. Litman, "Traditsii filosofskogo naturalizma v Indii i mirovozzreniye Dev Atmy" [Traditions of Philosophical Naturalism in India and the Worldview of Dev Atmy], Moscow, 1982; A.D. Litman, "Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan," Moscow, 1983.
2. See, for example: A.D. Litman, "Traditions of Vedanta in India's Sociophilosophical Thought" in "Filosofskoye naslediyе narodov Vostoka i sovremennost'" [The Philosophical Legacy of the Peoples of the East and the Present], Moscow, 1983; A.D. Litman, "The Ideas of Progress and Peace in Light of M.K. Gandhi's Conception of Nonviolence" in "Problemy mira i sotsial'nogo progressa v sovremennoy filosofii" [Problems of Peace and Social Progress in Contemporary Philosophy], Moscow, 1983; A.Kh. Vafa, "The Nation and Nationalism in Jawaharlal Nehru's Interpretation" in L.R. Polonskaya and A.Kh. Vafa, "Vostok: idei i ideologi (kritika burzhuaznykh i melkoburzhuaznykh kontseptsiy 'tret'ego puti' razvitiya)" [The East: Ideas and Ideologists (Criticism of Bourgeois and Petty Bourgeois Conceptions of the "Third Path" of Development)] Moscow, 1982, and others.

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